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JPRS-UIA-87-010

26 FEBRUARY 1987

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### WESTERN CRITIQUES OF SOVIET 'NEW POLITICAL THINKING' HIT

LD142211 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Dec 86

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Greetings, Comrades. It is impossible to set fire to one corner in an old wooden house such that only that one corner is burned down. The whole house will be set ablaze.

I read this statement in a book which has just come out on the prospects of Europe on the threshold of the third millennium. What a true and precise portrayal of both our age and the prospects for our planet; for it is not just a house but the whole globe which can suddenly burst into flames.

It is impossible to hope that only one corner will be burned down--but this is exactly what those who forecast the American scenario for the third world war are counting on. A fateful delusion: Wherever a nuclear war begins, its consequences will be apparent in all the world. The dense clouds of ash and poisonous gases, which will swallow up the sunlight, the sharp drop in temperature and the stream of ultraviolet radiation, which will become fatal for all living things when the ozone layer is destroyed, will turn out to be catastrophic.

Very recently, a discovery by an international expedition of highly distinguished specialists who are at the South Pole became known. It was revealed that a huge hold--covering not just a few square kilometers, but half the area of the entire territory of the United States has already formed in the layer of ozone surrounding the earth's atmosphere. Of course, the research by the expedition at the South Pole does not bear any direct relation to the affairs of the past week, but whatever major events have occurred in the past seven days--we will touch on them in our talk--it is particularly significant at the present time. It amounts to the main thing: the to-be-or-not-to-be of mankind. Simple, laconic formulas are being established: whether this or that government or state is acting for the good of peace or against it; whether a new approach to international reality and a new political thinking are being demonstrated in the evaluation of events.

Western ideologists are intensifying their attacks on the principle of new political thinking proposed by the Soviet leadership, not because they see errors in it, but--just the opposite--because they have discerned in it a

sensible approach to the solution of acute international problems. They are trying to prove that, so they claim, there is nothing new in the new approach; that it is no different from the principle of peaceful coexistence. Truly, the basis of the new political thinking is the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. But in the present nuclear age, in whose epoch the arms race can envelope even outer space, new political thinking is not simply a philosophical concept; not simply an invitation to competition between various social systems; but the question of survival or mutual destruction.

Some Western thinkers go as far as cynical considerations: one or two thousand million people fewer as a result of a nuclear conflict is no great disaster--the planet is overpopulated, anyway; and those who will be able to build themselves bomb-proof shelters will sit it out there. But, you see, sooner or later it will be necessary to leave the shelter; but going out in the event of a nuclear conflict will mean not remaining alive.

It is claimed in the West that the Soviet Union is trying to instill its new political thinking just in order to gain the upper hand in a military confrontation. But was it not the Soviet Union which proposed and extended four times the moratorium on nuclear explosions unilaterally? It is prepared to proceed further along this path if the United States responds in the same way. Is it not the Soviet Union which is prepared, either today or tomorrow, to sign the package of accords on the elimination of nuclear weapons which was the subject of the discussions in Reykjavik? Was it not the Soviet leader who sealed with his signature the Delhi Declaration on principles of nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons?

No, it is not the Soviet Union, but the United States, which is constantly striving for military superiority. It is for this that the 131st strategic bomber fitted with cruise missiles was put into commission; it is for the sake of this that the American Administration defends the Star Wars program with such stubbornness. And what about the preparation for a war against Nicaragua and the events of recent days, such as the raid on Nicaraguan centers of population by aircraft from an American base and the transfer of new groups of servicemen to areas bordering on Nicaragua in American helicopters?

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CSO: 1807/134

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PRAVDA WEEKLY REVIEW: REYKJAVIK, GENEVA TALKS, AFGHANISTAN

PM211651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 87 First Edition p 4

[Nikolay Kurdyumov "International Review"]

[Text] Saving the House We Share

The middle week of January occupies a special place in the political calendar. A year has passed since the publication in Moscow of the historic program for delivering mankind from the nuclear threat -- the program formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 Statement. The numerous foreign reactions and commentaries devoted to this anniversary clearly indicate the increased significance of this document in people's eyes. The package of initiatives put forward in the statement and aimed at the elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of the current century has truly impressed all honest people and is visibly exerting an influence on the course of world affairs and the formulation of the new political thinking. Millions upon millions of people in the world have taken up the insistent appeal of the Soviet Union to make a special effort to break out of the vicious circle of the accelerating arms race as an expression of their most sacred interests and aspirations.

However, the prospect of the creation of a nuclear-free world and the elimination of nuclear weapons evoked a completely different reaction in the ruling circles of a number of NATO countries, above all the United States, where the militarist forces and the politicians engaged in their service suddenly felt distinctly uncomfortable. Like a search light, the Soviet proposals for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the current century exposed the hypocrisy of people who merely pay lip service to disarmament while in effect sidestepping any specific measures toward this aim. In the words of the well-known U.S. weekly TIME, "the stupefying series of initiatives put forward in the course of the year by M.S. Gorbachev has forced the Reagan administration onto the defensive."

In the course of the past year the world public was able to see for itself more than once that the peace-loving rhetoric of which the Washington administration spokesmen are so fond is not worth a dime. When put to the test, their declarations time and again proved to be deceptions or empty talk.

The stubborn unwillingness of the U.S. Administration effectively to halt the improvement of nuclear weapons and join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions and the administration's official renunciation of the observance of the Salt II treaty are glaring evidence of this. During the meeting in Reykjavik, the U.S. side sacrificed a historic chance for nuclear disarmament to its "Star Wars" plans, through which Washington hopes to achieve military superiority.

As is known, the peoples' hopes that Reykjavik would produce practical results were not vindicated. Nonetheless the meeting was useful because it advanced the cause of nuclear disarmament to an unprecedented level, from which new horizons opened up. And in this respect the Soviet program for a nuclear-free world provides a constant impetus to efforts to resolve this historic task, provoking thought and imparting energy.

An article in the Canadian newspaper THE CITIZEN is worthy of note. "Why," the paper wrote in an editorial, "should the Soviets have a monopoly on all sensible and attractive initiatives in the arms control sphere?...We call on President Reagan -- as soon as he has eliminated the consequences of the scandal and can try to restore confidence in his policy -- to instruct his 'new' aides to put forward constructive initiatives in the arms control sphere which go further than those proposed by the Russians."

It is also indicative that the discussion now under way in various countries on the subject of the proposed Soviet peace initiatives is leading on the isolation of those who ignore the aspirations of the people and act from positions of nuclear recklessness. In the West -- the United States included -- an increasing number of public figures, scientists, and specialists are expressing growing concern at the obstructionist, unconstructive stance of the U.S. Administration and are emphasizing the need to pay serious attention to the Soviet proposals for nuclear disarmament, which are in keeping with the vital interests of all people, including the American people.

Thus C. Pell, new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in an interview to AP described the achievement of a USSR-U.S. agreement on nuclear arms limitation as his main aim. Even the partial implementation of SDI effectively leads to a buildup of the arms race in both offensive and defensive weapons, a group of U.S. experts warned a few days ago. However, judging by appearances, appeals for realism and common sense in politics do not carry much weight in the Washington corridors or power.

#### The Seventh Round

On the threshold of the new year, the Soviet Union again sincerely extended the hand of cooperation to all who favor talks on a total nuclear test ban without delay and the development of international relations on the basis of the principles of equality and universal security. This, of course, applies primarily to the United States, with which our country intends to continue striving for the achievement of mutually acceptable accords at, among other venues, the latest, seventh round of the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons which opened 15 January.

The Soviet proposals put forward in Reykjavik remain in force, and our country will work in Geneva to get the agreements which emerged at the meeting in the Icelandic capital translated as soon as possible into the language of specific accords. In other words, the USSR would like the talks to progress from being fruitless to become dynamic.

Unfortunately, the same readiness is not evident on the American side. The leadership of the Washington administration continues to be dominated by the stereotypes of the old way of thinking; it continues to entertain the hope that, with the help of "Star Wars," with the help of a technological breakthrough it may gain a head start in military terms. Hence the attempts to return the talks to the old, pre-Reykjavik channel. Hence the corresponding "arguments" which have hampered fruitful dialogue in the past.

Recently the White House put in a claim for a further increase of several tens of billions of dollars in military spending, including a 50-percent increase in the case of SDI, in the coming fiscal year.

The line toward the escalation of military preparations and the revision of the accords achieved in Reykjavik is evident also in the President's official statement in connection with the departure of the U.S. delegation for Geneva. Claiming that the United States is seeking to "lower the level of nuclear arms" for the sake of more secure Soviet-American strategic relations, the head of the White House declared at the same time that Washington has no intention of giving up SDI and advocated that it be implemented "as fast as possible."

It must also be said that in the aforementioned statement the head of the administration grossly distorted the Soviet position. Accusing the Soviet Union of "retreating" from the accords achieved at the summit, he cited as an example the just demand put forward by the Soviet Union that the proposals it made in Reykjavik in the sphere of nuclear disarmament be regarded as a single package in which, as is known, mutual interests and concessions are carefully balanced.

This is what is called trying to shift the blame. Was it not the president himself and other ranking officials of his administration who subjected the Reykjavik accords to a complete revision? Was it not they who renounced the accords on the elimination of all strategic nuclear arms rather than just ballistic missiles? Was it not the U.S. side which, shortly after the meeting in the Icelandic capital, revised its readiness to pledge not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for 10 years? M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, is perfectly well aware of this. Nonetheless he claimed in a recent interview that there was no need for the U.S. delegation to put forward new initiatives because its proposals after Reykjavik allegedly already paved the way to accords.

Is this an attempt to mislead the uninformed, or is it to let the world public know in advance the United States does not intend to work for positive results

in the latest round of talks? Clearly, it is a bit of both. It was no accident that the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN noted in a report from Washington describing the atmosphere in the U.S. capital that even the most optimistically minded U.S. State Department officials "do not expect" serious progress to be achieved at the Geneva talks. This is a pity. The peoples firmly believe there is no time to lose in this cause.

#### A Course Toward National Reconciliation

Events in Afghanistan, which is going through a crucial stage in its history, attracted much attention in the press and other mass media during the past week. Only a few days have passed since the extraordinary PDPA Central Committee plenum decision and the declaration adopted by the DRA Revolutionary Council "On National Reconciliation in Afghanistan," yet the bold and constructive course proclaimed by the country's leadership has begun to take concrete shape.

A major landmark on the path toward national reconciliation is the truce decision which came into force at 0000 hours 15 January. All the units and formations of the DRA Armed Forces received the order to cease fire, halt combat actions throughout the country's territory, return to their permanent garrisons, and take up peacetime activities.

In expressing its readiness to abide by the truce for a period of 6 months and to strictly observe its terms, the Afghan leadership has called on the opposing side also to suspend all combat operations, deliveries and deployment of weapons and munitions, and mining of roads and to preclude all acts of terrorism and sabotage.

Within the framework of the process of national reconciliation, in addition to ending the bloodshed, the people's authorities have placed on the agenda tasks pertaining to the present and the future of Afghanistan such as ensuring just representation of the entire population in the country's political structure and economic life, guaranteeing freedom from persecution for previous political activities, and preserving and augmenting historical, national, and cultural traditions. Calling on all honest Afghan patriots, including those currently living abroad, irrespective of their former political persuasions, grievances, and hostilities, to join in the building of new life in their own country, the Afghan leadership declared its desire to create a government of national unity, possibly in the nature of a coalition, and to achieve the speediest possible political settlement around Afghanistan on the basis of the suspension and guaranteed nonresumption of outside interference -- which would result in speeding up the withdrawal of Soviet servicemen. The aim which we have set ourselves, Najib, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, has said, consists in ensuring and guaranteeing the status of a sovereign, nonaligned, independent state for Afghanistan.

According to reports from Afghanistan, the proclamation of the humane policy of national accord which every Afghan family has awaited for so long

is meeting with the support of all strata of the population. Meetings and rallies are under way in the provinces and districts, emergency commissions for national reconciliation are being set up, and measures for the practical implementation of priority tasks are being outlined.

Interpreting the Afghan leadership's decision to proclaim a cease-fire as a courageous, responsible, and farsighted step, the press in many countries is noting that the proclaimed program offers a real opportunity for uniting all the political forces and social and national groups on a patriotic basis. In the opinion of observers, the DRA Government's initiatives also accord with the interests of neighboring countries, because both Pakistan and Iran stand to gain from a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

The reaction in the West is not unequivocal. Quite a few bourgeois press articles concede the constructiveness and potential of the bold step taken by Kabul. The attitude of the organizers of the undeclared war against Afghanistan is another matter. Washington is clearly displeased at the national reconciliation policy. A White House spokesman has described the truce now in force as "a sham". So that's that! A proposal to end the bloodshed and the killing of people in a far-off country is "a sham" for the Washington gentleman "peace-makers." To camouflage their terrible cynicism they try to present the matter as if a political settlement in and around Afghanistan depended only on the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingent. At the same time they themselves are hampering this, they are hampering talks on a settlement by their unwillingness to end outside interference and guarantee its nonresumption. After all, it is precisely the United States which is continuing to fan the conflict, to supply weapons to the dushmans, and to exert pressure on Pakistan. Furthermore, the statement by the main groupings of the Afghan counterrevolution in which, according to the reports of Western news agencies from Peshawar (Pakistan), they have rejected the cease-fire also bears the U.S. hallmark.

No matter how hard Washington tries to camouflage its activities, the whole world is aware of its incitement. The British [NEW] STATESMAN newspaper wrote a few days ago: "The unseemly haste with which the U.S. Administration rejected Najib's proposal has boosted suspicions that a speedy resolution of the problem is not in Washington's strategic interests." Luckily, by no means everything depends on Washington in the world today.

The Soviet Union fully supports the course chosen by the Afghan leadership toward the achievement of national reconciliation, peace, and security in the country. It seeks a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan without further delay and resolutely favors the speediest suspension and prevention of outside interference. Soviet people sincerely want the thunder of guns to give way to the voice of reason, because peace in Afghanistan would speed up the return home of the Soviet forces which are in that country at the request of the DRA Government and would contribute to the strengthening of international security in a vast region where many other acute problems and conflicts have accumulated.

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CSO: 1807/145



## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL ECOLOGY, PEACE MEETING IN BULGARIA

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by N. Ibragimov, Professor Tashkent State University, Doctor of Philological Sciences: "We Are All Children of Earth" Notes of a political observer; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In August of this year in the city of Varna, Bulgaria a conference on "Protection of the Environment and the Preservation of Universal Peace" took place, during which a new international movement "Ecoforum for Peace" was proclaimed."

In the very name of this international movement, two painful points were focused upon, two important problems of modern civilization--ecology and peace.

We are in total agreement with the progressive scientists of the world, who assert that nuclear war is the apotheosis of human madness and at the same time an ecological catastrophe. The preparation for such a war is a path toward worldwide genocide and even biocide--destruction of intelligence and universal life in general.

That is why, with such hope and optimism, we followed the meetings in Reykjavick between the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, M.S. Gorbachev, and the President of the USA, R. Reagan. And it is not our fault that the American delegation did not accept the Soviet proposals.

The Soviet leadership introduced a clear and concrete program of total nuclear disarmament on this planet by the end of this century. But this should be considered only a beginning. In the future, it will be necessary to destroy all of the other types of arms, step by step. Otherwise this planet cannot be saved.

And it is necessary to save our planet. Mankind is being threatened equally by blind thermonuclear powers and by the destruction of nature by man. The threat of a nuclear war takes first place among all ecological problems. There can be no doubt about this. But other ecological problems should then be considered. No government can solve these problems alone. A joint effort is necessary. And peace is necessary to utilize the progress of science and technology for creation and not destruction.

The Soviet Union believes that the United Nations should attract the attention of world governments to their historical responsibility for the conservation of nature as the necessary condition of life for present and future generations, and to facilitate the development of international collaboration in this area.

There are plenty of reasons for worry! The deployment of different types of weapons, mostly nuclear, that fatally affect plant and animal worlds, results in enormous damage to the environment.

The effect of man upon nature has been compared to that of catastrophic natural phenomena. Now, rivers are transformed artificially more quickly in decades than natural processes can change them in tens or even hundreds of thousand of years. Moreover, such phenomena do not remain in this boundary of separate countries. They acquire a global significance.

Contamination of the Pacific Ocean with industrial wastes is growing into a threatening problem. The oil leaking from tankers spills onto enormous areas, poisoning plankton, destroying fish and sea animals. Sailors complain that many areas of the ocean remind them of a gigantic dump. Mankind is moving closer to reaching its capacity in the area of fishing. Chopping down the tropical forests, which are the main source of oxygen replenishment in the atmosphere has become a serious potential threat.

Meteorological stations throughout the whole world including the South Pole and Pacific Ocean islands, registered an increase in carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere. The consumption of various types of fuel, such as coal, oil and gas, is increasing drastically in all countries. Natural utilization of the carbon dioxide is decreasing due to diminishing forest areas.

The recent catastrophe in Chernobyl showed us once more that questions of ecology, in particular regarding utilization of nuclear energy, effects the interests of all countries. Today, they can only be solved through joint efforts.

Discarding toxic substances by the American chemical concern in Bhopal, the catastrophe at "Three Mile Island" in the USA, "acid rains" in Canada and other ecological dangers "icebergs"--all of this confirms how vulnerable the environment is and how easily one can upset the balance of nature.

The goal of our society and every human being is to live on earth, using its resources intelligently and using our knowledge in solving difficult ecological problems, as was mentioned during the 273 CPSU Congress. Using the advantages of a socialist system, the USSR is directly taking a wide circle of measures in order to insure rational usage of the natural resources and protection of the environment.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government at every stage, beginning with Lenin's decree regarding protection of the environment has demonstrated its concern regarding the intelligent usage and regeneration of natural resources, to make sure that present and future generations of Soviet people have an opportunity to use them.

In capitalist countries, where man and nature are objects of unmerciful exploitation, different ecological policies are being conducted altogether. These policies protect the interests of monopolies. The militarization of economics by the USA and its NATO partners, their preparation, deployment and maintenance of large quantities of weapons of massive destruction, dumping of radioactive and toxic wastes into the waters of the Pacific Ocean have a destructive effect on the environment.

In capitalist society man forgets about his blood relation with nature. He craves to establish supremacy, his control and power over nature.

Is the contamination of the environment the inevitable results of scientific progress? No, it is not. The main reason for contamination of the environment is not industry in and of itself, like the bourgeois ideology holds, but public and social forces.

Ecological crisis has a class substance. Without a planned, scientific approach, nature will suffocate, because the level of its contamination becomes threatening. The threat comes not from the development of productive forces in general, but from the way such development is occurring in the capitalist society. The environmental crisis allows us clearly to see the crime and the irresponsibility of private monopolies. The rule is such that where the capitalists are more active and greedy, that is where the contamination of the environment is more severe.

Earth is our common home. And in the home everything should be well. The problems of environmental protection can not be separated from the struggle for peace on our planet--they are interrelated today, tightly intertwined together. It is obvious that there is a direct correlation between the health of the planet and a peaceful coexistence of governments and peoples.

Only peace, only disarmament, only common sense can guarantee and support the noble struggle in defence of our environment on such a small planet called Earth.

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CSO: 1807/67

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### DELHI DECLARATION'S STANCE ON DISARMAMENT, PEACE PRAISED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 p 4

[Article by Professor M. Kapitsa: "The Philosophy of Present-Day Politics"]

[Text] Over the millenia of mankind's existence there have been probably only a few years when no war was being waged in some part of the world and when blood was not being spilt. And the problem of preserving the peace has hung over each generation of people as an agonizing and eternal question. It has never been possible to solve this problem either on the basis of military superiority for some states over others, or by subjugating neighboring peoples, or with the aid of hypocritical oaths by monarchs about "eternal friendship." Setting hopes in some abstract good will on the part of the rulers has invariably turned out to be powerless in the face of the self-interest, egoism and aggressiveness of invaders and exploiters.

With its first decree--Lenin's Decree on Peace--the Great October Socialist Revolution proclaimed a different ideal, the ideal of a world without wars, and peace between free and equal peoples. This ideal has insistently carved out a course for itself in international life and has beaten out a path to the hearts and minds of people. The measured peace-loving principles of the United Nations came into being as the result of the rout of fascist tyranny, which had tried to hold sway over every person, over peoples, and over the entire world.

After World War II hundreds of millions of people who had thrown off the yoke of infamous colonial exploitation moved out into the international arena as independent and equal participants. The words of that great son of India Jawaharlal Nehru came true: "The countries of Asia are no longer pawns in some alien game. They will pursue their own policy in international affairs." These states gave the international community the five principles of peaceful coexistence--the "Panca Sila"--the peace-loving landmarks of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and the fundamental tenets of the nonaligned movement, which now unites more than 100 countries within its ranks.

The declaration on principles for a world free of nuclear weapons, a world without violence, signed on 27 November 1986 by the leaders of two great powers--the USSR and India--M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi--stands with the

principles of "Panca Sila," Bandung, and the Helsinki Final Act. It has become a major event of international life in our times.

The Delhi Declaration is an appeal to all states to recognize that if the present course of events is not halted it will send humankind into a nuclear grave. It is composed of simple words, subject to the judgement of the peoples, calling for all of us, the people, who now number about 5 billion, to set aside this monstrous threat and remove the sword of Damocles now hanging over mankind. These words stem from these two countries' confidence in the force of common sense and their faith in mankind's ability to avert self-destruction, save the world, and pass on the precious baton of life to our children and grandchildren.

The declaration speaks of the need "to develop a new kind of political thinking, a new concept of the world that offers reliable guarantees for mankind's survival." It proceeds from the inseparable link between the happiness and well-being of each individual person and preservation of the general peace. It emphasizes that the basis of modern views of the world should be a recognition of human life as the highest worth. Therefore, any philosophy or policy built on inequality, repression or discrimination is amoral and impermissible. Mankind must recognize that it is a single family and that the pain and unhappiness of one person is pain and unhappiness for all.

The declaration states as follows: "Mistrust, fear and suspicion between countries distort perceptions of the real world. They give rise to tension and ultimately harm the entire international community." Thus, the indissoluble unity of the individual, a country, and all the inhabitants of the Planet of People is established, a unity that the people have expressed in a sameness of words: human, humanity, humankind. This great humane force of the declaration imparts to it a universal human nature.

Even a few years ago such a document could scarcely have been drawn up. It is a reflection of the concern and alarm that now grip the hearts of people all across the planet. The voice of the peoples now sounds out as never before within the walls of the United Nations. A wind of change is blowing through the sedate atmosphere of the building on the East River, bringing the passionate yearning of the people for peace. Proof of this is provided by the results of the voting for dozens of resolutions on the questions of disarmament, the nonmilitarization of space and the preservation of the peace adopted at the 41st UN General Assembly session. The UN World Disarmament Campaign has become a unique aspect of this activity.

One powerful force in the struggle for peace is now the nonaligned movement, many of whose members in past decades counseled only to concentrate on the issues of overcoming backwardness and the problems of economic development. The conferences in Delhi and Harare are a graphic indicator of this change.

One noteworthy phenomenon in the international arena was the meeting between the state and government leaders of six states--India, Argentina, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden--who have offered important initiatives in the

field of nuclear disarmament, preventing the militarization of space and halting nuclear weapons testing.

This century has, as it were, shrunk the size of the world. It has joined mankind in a common destiny and set it a cruel dilemma--to live together or to die together--by making the problems of war and peace truly global and affecting the fate of each and every one of the present generation and future generations. Life has tightly knotted together the problems of the mutual relations of the nuclear powers, the national independence of countries and their right to choose their own path, the problems of disarmament and development, hunger, population, ecology and so forth, making them planetary in the full sense of the word. One of the most important distinctive marks of the Delhi Declaration is its recognition of the profound link between these problems and the perception of them as a single complex.

Each year more than \$800 billion are spent on weapons. This monstrous figure is not simply a senseless waste of labor and resources but a victim on the altar of the god of death, violence and repression. According to UN calculations, the allocation of \$200 million annually (less than the cost of a single B1 strategic bomber) would make it possible over 10 years to eradicate illiteracy in the world. One-fifth of present military spending would be enough to insure by the year 2000 that no one would be hungry. A sum equal only to the cost of a single modern cruiser would be enough totally to eradicate diseases such as malaria, leprosy and trachoma. The lives and health of hundreds of millions of people on one side of the scales and ultramodern systems of murder on the other. This the choice facing mankind's reason and conscience and his collective will.

The document written in India's capital again affirms with total clarity the goal by which the governments of the two countries are guided, namely, general and complete disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. This must be said again and again, and it must be said at the top of our voices.

This is important because imperialist circles are trying to accustom the peoples to live alongside mountains of nuclear weapons by assuring them that they are, they say, engaged in negotiations whose mandate is to bring the nuclear arms race under control and bring it more or less within "safe frameworks." Life has shown that half measures will not do here. It is essential to chart the main goal with total clarity, namely, the total destruction of nuclear weapons, and initiate movement away from the arms race and start the process of real reductions. This is precisely the meaning of the Soviet program to liquidate nuclear weapons before the start of the next century.

Ruling circles in the United States, Britain and France want to retain for themselves the right to brandish the nuclear cudgel, intimidating other countries and making all peoples on the planet hostage to nuclear adventurism. The USSR, which developed nuclear weapons exclusively for the purpose of self-defense in the face of nuclear blackmail, rejects the idea that anyone has this "right," and it speaks out in favor of disbanding the "nuclear club" once and for all.

And finally, Washington and its closest allies are lying to their own people and to the entire world when they assert that in order to avert the nuclear danger it is supposedly necessary to develop new weapons systems and space "superweapons." This is an old and discredited logic that has long since been refuted by history. At the end of the last century the inventors of the machine gun asserted that their creation would be such a reliable protection for national borders that aggression would be impossible. Nobel, who invented dynamite, sincerely thought that it would make war impossible. What was left behind after these illusions? Millions of war casualties.

As for the "strategic defense initiative," it is superfluous to recall that this is not the first "argument for peace" in the arsenal of the U.S. administration. Before this the MX nuclear missile--another of Washington's favorite creations--was given the high-flown nickname of "Peacemaker." It is hard to say which is greater here, the cynical jeer at common sense or the unseemly and serious policy of tender emotion for a "daring cowboy" (a hundred years ago in the Wild West the Smith and Wesson was called the "Peacemaker"). One thing is clear: the people in power in the United States are still not prepared to raise themselves up to the level of thinking that the nuclear age demands.

The Delhi Declaration proceeds from the premise that questions concerning nuclear weapons are life-and-death issues for present and future generations, issues that affect all peoples and all governments without exception. Here, as in any other problem of international life, the Soviet Union and India are not and cannot be states that are more, or less "important," "top-category" or "secondary." Expressing this conviction, the Indian representative to the UN General Assembly First Committee has stated the following: "The fate of our civilization cannot be left in the hands of just two or five states; those that do not possess nuclear weapons have exactly the same right to decide their own fate."

The Delhi Declaration is a model of international politics and diplomacy, a concrete manifestation of the new political thinking. The USSR and India proclaim their readiness to work to create a more stable and secure world in which every person would live better, and they confirm this readiness in deeds. The leaders of the two countries set the following specific, large-scale measures on the agenda for the world community:

- the complete destruction of nuclear arsenals before the end of this century;
- the impermissibility of placing weapons in space, which is the common property of mankind;
- a total ban on nuclear weapon testing;
- a ban on the creation of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction;
- a ban on chemical weapons and destruction of stockpiled chemical weapons;
- a lowering of the levels of conventional weapons and armed forces.

The appeal from the USSR and India to conclude immediately an international convention banning the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of their use sounds out with special force in the declaration. Mankind must now raise a firm barrier on the road to nuclear apocalypse!

The profound meaning of the declaration is set forth in a combination of lofty moral premises and ruthless soberness of analysis. Its peace-loving nature and humanitarian tone make it an important instrument in the struggle for a world without violence and wars and prompts the peace-loving public to strive to introduce its principles into the fabric of international relations.

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CSO: 1807/137



## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### TASKS, PROJECTS OF SOVIET ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION DESCRIBED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 15 Jan 87 pp 1-3

[Article by V. Bardin]

[Text] The first days of the new year. Smart well-decorated fir trees everywhere. It is freezing. In my mind's eye I see Antarctica, where I had so many New Year celebrations. Now it is summer there. What is it like, this year's summer in Antarctica? I asked Arthur Chilingarov, Hero of the Soviet Union and Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, to answer this question.

"Mr Chilingarov, most participants in the 32nd Soviet Antarctic expedition got down to business in Antarctica shortly before the New Year. Will you give PRAVDA readers some current information coming from there?"

"Willingly. There are seven Soviet ships of various types off the southern continent now. Heading the expedition is Valeri Klovov, Candidate of Geography, who has a good idea of work in Antarctica.

"A very important operation was carried out near Molodyozhnaya, our main station, the approaches to which have been made difficult by heavy ice. The research ship "Mikhail Somov" and motor vessel "Pavel Korchagin" unloaded three IL-14 planes on a floating iceberg. The iceberg had been spotted in November and we had kept an eye on it ever since. It is five kilometres long and two kilometres wide. Now it is approximately 45 kilometres off Molodezhnaya. Airmen assembled the planes right atop the iceberg, which is a floating landing strip of sorts, and safely crossed over a stretch of water to the station's airfield. "Mikhail Somov" and "Pavel Korchagin" are now in the area of the Mirny observatory.

Diesel-electric ship "Captain Kondratyev" is now near Cape Norway. It will have to make a difficult passage to the Weddell Sea to the site of Druzhnaya-1, the Soviet base that collapsed into the sea with a portion of the shelf glacier it was standing on. I outlined only what several ships will have to do; apart from that, each of our seven permanent stations has its hands full. In short, it is a busy season in Antarctica. They are treasuring literally every hour.

"At this stage we are primarily concerned with how the geologists and geophysicists will fare in the area of Druzhnaya-1 which is now on an iceberg. PRAVDA was quite right in saying that the breaking-off could have been foreseen and the base ought to have been evacuated in good time."

"Luckily, the reports say, Druzhnaya-1 has not been damaged in the calamity."

"We are happy that the base has survived. But we should not delude ourselves; everything might have worked out differently. We have reports that the iceberg with Druzhnaya-1 on has run aground. The iceberg is very thick and the sea is rather shallow in that place."

"With Druzhnaya-1 on an iceberg, won't it be worthwhile to use the circumstance to advantage? In other words, how do you view the idea of setting up a drifting research station there? I am putting this question to you personally because as the former head of SP-19, a drifting station in the North Pole area, you lived and worked on an iceberg."

"Yes, I always feel excited recalling that time. I believe, working on an iceberg is quite possible in Antarctica, too, but it requires special preparations. Just now we are not prepared to tackle the matter. We are considering the chances. This year, as I see it, we'd do well to squeeze what we can from the fact that the base has survived. In this case we'd start working immediately, because it will take time to set up a new station, Druzhnaya-3, for which we have to find a site yet. In other words, we ought to build Druzhnaya-3 and simultaneously put the iceberg base to use, too. But we can take the decision only after a thorough study of the situation on the spot. "Captain Kondratyev" will be there soon."

"Glaciologists from the Institute of Glaciology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, suggest looking for a site for Druzhnaya-3 near the edge of the Filchner glacier, where huge icebergs have broken off recently. This makes sense, I believe, because it is highly unlikely that the glacier will split again soon."

"Yes, we got a letter from the Institute director V. Kotliakov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and will certainly take into account the expert opinion. I believe we should work in close contact with the glaciologists and heed their recommendations. It can't be otherwise in Antarctica, the ice continent as it is called."

"In general, work in Antarctica must be distinguished by a comprehensive and scientific approach, the way it was originally conceived. The Committee and other departments, above all the Academy of Sciences, will seek to make the Antarctic investigations comprehensive."

(PRAVDA, January 7. Abridged.)

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CSO: 18/1241

## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### CHIEF DELEGATE TO VIENNA CSCE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE INTERVIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, chief of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting, by V. Khilchevskaya, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent: "A Common Responsibility"; date and place not given]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at the foreign minister level is opening today in Vienna. After the Belgrade (1977-1978) and Madrid (1980-1983) meetings, this will be the third meeting of this type in succession within the framework of the European-wide process.

V. Khilchevskaya, our correspondent, addressed a number of questions to Ambassador Yu. B. Kashlev, the head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting.

[Question] Yuriy Borisovich, what can one expect from the meeting in Vienna?

[Answer] Of course, it is an important event not only in the life of the European continent but also beyond it. The forum will take place in a qualitatively new international situation that has been created by the important Soviet peace initiatives. They are well known. Under these conditions, the role and responsibility of the CSCE member states for the future of not only Europe but also the entire world are growing immeasurably. The Soviet Union favors the achievement of substantial agreements in all sections of the Final Act during the Vienna meeting. This is the way that we understand the task of insuring a "balance" in the Helsinki process. They often talk about it in the West, although there they use a particularly selective approach toward the Helsinki agreements. For us, there exists nothing "forbidden" by them, and we are prepared to discuss any matter, covered by the Final Act, during the Vienna meeting. The USSR delegation will take an active position during the Vienna meeting. Independently and in cooperation with the delegations from the socialist countries, it will propose initiatives on all sections of the Final Act and will be prepared to examine the proposals of other participants carefully.

[Question] Could you not dwell in more detail on the main avenues in the work of the conference?

[Answer] Within the framework of the first section of the Final Act -- questions relating to security in Europe, we are attaching a great deal of importance to the solution of military and political problems. The wide ranging proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries relative to the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals, which were put forward in Budapest, are aimed at this. In Vienna, the Soviet Union will favor an agreement on the mandate for the next stage of the Stockholm conference, having in mind a continuation of the examination of confidence measures but, mainly, a shift to practical discussions concerning the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

In the 'second basket' that embraces cooperation in the areas of economics, science, technology, and the environment, the USSR delegation will favor a fuller use of the potential that is contained in the Final Act.

[Question] A great deal can be done during the Vienna meeting to develop cooperation in the humanitarian area. What are the tasks of the conference from this point of view?

[Answer] The USSR delegation intends to take an open and constructive position when examining questions of culture, education, information, the defense of human rights and basic freedoms, and contacts between people. In Vienna, we will favor the expansion of contacts between people and the exchange of spiritual values between countries and peoples. In a word, we are going to the Vienna meeting with a large positive program and intend to act constructively there. Important tasks face us, and their solution is only possible in a business-like situation without artificial and fruitless polemics and confrontations. The responsibility, which lies on the CSCE member countries, obliges us to treat each other's position with respect, to look for points of contiguity, and to use every opportunity to bring our approaches to the specific questions closer together. The questions of the Vienna meeting have already occupied a prominent place in the discussions and contacts of Soviet leaders at a high level. They were thoroughly examined at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest and during the recently held meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member states' foreign ministers committee. I would like to hope that the delegations of the other CSCE member countries are displaying such a responsible approach.

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CSO: 1807/82

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATION OF WARSAW PACT STATES DISCUSSED

AU272001 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 12, Dec 86 (signed to press 19 Nov 86) pp 12-21

[Article by Professor A. Yazkova, doctor of historical sciences: "Interaction between the Countries of Socialism in World Policy"]

[Excerpts] In the contemporary international situation the foreign policy actions of the countries of socialism in the world arena have become an important and, in many respects, determining factor of international relations. The active and balanced policy of the allied socialist states objectively creates prerequisites for solving such fundamental questions of our epoch as strengthening peace, curtailing the arms race--including, first and foremost, the nuclear arms race--disarmament, and eliminating the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

The foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member-countries has always been subordinated to accomplishing these large-scale tasks. Our epoch and its nature as a turning point have brought to life new phenomena in the interaction between the countries of socialism in the world arena: dynamism in coordinating and adopting policy decisions and a greater initiative in developing and carrying out foreign policy actions on a large and, frequently, global scale. The struggle to assert the new political thinking in world affairs and to exclude war from the arsenal of means of solving any given problems of the contemporary world is assuming an increasingly important place in coordinated actions of the community's countries.

The steadily growing antagonism between the obsolete ideology of confrontation with force and the philosophy of peace, which is the only reasonable philosophy in the nuclear age, objectively leads to an even greater strengthening of interaction between the Warsaw Pact states that "advocate the development and deepening of relations with other socialist countries and cooperation and interaction with them in the interests of the struggle for peace and socialism and against imperialism," as it was emphasized by the forum of the ministers of foreign affairs of member-countries of this organization in Bucharest in October 1986.

The fundamental principles for the unity of the world of socialism in its foreign policy actions result from the very essence of the new system. "Socialism r=unreservedly rejects wars as a means of settling interstate

political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes," it was stated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress. "...That is why /the struggle against the nuclear danger and the arms race and for maintaining and strengthening universal peace/ [passage between slantlines published in boldface] will continue to be in the future the main trend of the party's activity in the world arena."

The integral concept of all-embracing security set forth by the highest forum of Soviet Communists and the subsequent peace-loving proposals of the Soviet Union as well as the numerous initiatives advanced by the congresses of the fraternal parties of countries of the socialist community have given a powerful impulse to their further joint work to implement large-scale peace-loving initiatives. [passage omitted reviewing the numerous peace and disarmament initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact member-states; stressing the significance of these initiatives and proposals and some resulting accords; and noting the efforts of the United States to turn its doctrine of "neoglobalism" into an action program of the entire North Atlantic bloc and the danger presented by these efforts for the "countries of socialism beyond the European Continent"]

The characteristic features of foreign policy cooperation between the countries of socialism, that is, mutual support for the proposals and initiatives of individual countries and their increasing interaction in solving the questions of world policy, have manifested themselves especially strikingly under the present, difficult international conditions.

"We do not conceive the future of the Soviet Union without close interaction with the GDR and other fraternal countries," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in his speech at the 11th SED Congress. "This is not only because our internationalist convictions command this of us, but also because the difficult tasks raised by the times cannot be accomplished without this interaction." The same idea was also expressed in his speech at the 27th CPSU Congress by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council: "The strength of the community of socialist states lies in their unity and cohesion, which nothing can replace."

At the recent BCP, CPCZ, and PZPR congresses T. Zhivkov, G. Husak, and W. Jaruzelski, respectively, as well as the leaders of other fraternal parties appearing at these congresses also spoke about the special significance of active interaction between the countries of socialism in solving foreign policy problems. The need in the contemporary troubled world to build security on the solid foundations of multilateral political cooperation was invariably stressed at all these forums. Speaking at the Soviet-Hungarian friendship meeting in Budapest in June 1986, J. Kadar, MSZMP general secretary, said in this connection: "Acting in coordination with its allies and using its own means and possibilities, Hungary will continue to strive to help achieve the common goals. Together with the Soviet friends we proceed from the fact that today there is no more important task than the struggle for peace and the security of mankind."

The congresses of the ruling communist and workers parties of countries of the socialist community as well as the meeting of their highest leaders in Budapest from 10 to 11 June of this year have convincingly demonstrated the unity of views of Warsaw Pact states on fundamental issues of the contemporary period, something that has enabled them to make proposals the implementation of which would open practical possibilities to stop the present dangerous course of events and make a sharp turn toward a better development of the current unfavorable trends in international affairs.

Meetings of the highest leaders of the fraternal countries within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee are especially important for coordinating their international political activities. At these meetings the strategic thrusts of the policy of the socialist community are worked out and joint documents are adopted which retain their significance for a longer-term historical period. [passage omitted on the January 1983 Prague Political Declaration, the October 1985 Sofia Statement, and the June 1986 Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Pact member-countries; the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev with the heads of party-state delegations of Warsaw Pact member-countries in Moscow in March 1985; the meeting of the highest leaders of the European countries of the community on 26 April 1985; the meeting of the highest leaders and the ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact member-countries on 21 November 1985, immediately after the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva; the session of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Warsaw Pact member-countries in Bucharest from 14-15 October 1986, immediately after the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik; and the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Warsaw Pact member-countries in Budapest and Moscow in March and August of this year, respectively]

Thus, the interaction between the countries of the socialist community in solving the most important international problems and working out and implementing their coordinated foreign policy course is becoming more and more intensive and is increasingly assuming a multilevel character. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact member-countries are far from confining themselves within the framework of the pact alone: The communique of the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee adopted in Budapest and other party and state documents of the community's countries, including the statement of the latest session of the Warsaw Pact Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, express their determination to even more actively cooperate in international affairs with all other socialist states. New opportunities and prospects for this are opening up at the present stage.

History has developed in such a way that for a long time full use was not made of those forms of comprehensive interaction in the sphere of international politics which have proven their effectiveness in practice. The CPSU and the Soviet state invariably display an interest in establishing relations of good-neighborliness with the PRC, more energetic interaction with Yugoslavia, further strengthening of cooperation with the DPRK, and normalizing relations with Albania. In this connection the CPSU Program stresses that cohesion of the countries of socialism "meets the interests of each of them and their common interests, and promotes the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals."

In the first half of the eighties relations between the countries of the socialist community and the PRC began to gradually improve. This process became particularly active after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee plenum, at which M.S. Gorbachev again stressed the Soviet Union's intention to strengthen mutual ties and to develop cooperation with China.

Certain opportunities to gradually establish interaction between the USSR and the PRC on international political issues are created by the coincidence of the two countries' viewpoints on a number of fundamental issues, a coincidence which has recently become clear. "...The reserves for cooperation between the USSR and the PRC are enormous," the 27th CPSU Congress noted. "They are great because such cooperation corresponds to the interests of both countries, and because the things dearest to our peoples--socialism and peace--are indivisible."

In its foreign policy the PRC proclaims a course aimed at developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. China has made a decision not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Government of the PRC declares its readiness to contribute to the reduction of both conventional and nuclear weapons, and it acts against the cranking up of the arms race and its spread to outer space. China condemns the intrigues and military provocations of the forces of imperialism and reaction in the Near East, Africa, and Central America.

The Chinese leadership stresses the need to continue the Soviet-American dialogue, despite the fact that no accords were reached at the meeting in Reykjavik. In an interview which he gave to the Japanese newspaper ASAHI, Hu Qili, CPC Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat member, said: "We would like a final result to be achieved at future talks, a result which would make a contribution to the cause of peace all over the world." Touching on the problem of SDI, he spoke out in favor of the peaceful conquest of outer space, stressing that "its use for military purposes intensifies the arms race. For this reason we are against SDI."

In spite of certain differences in approaches to certain international problems, all this creates opportunities for cooperation with the PRC on an equal and principled basis in the sphere of international politics. As far as bilateral relations are concerned, then, as M.S. Gorbachev stated in his speech in Vladivostok in July 1986, the USSR is ready at any time and at any level to discuss with China additional measures to create an atmosphere of good-neighborliness for both our countries.

The official friendly visits paid by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, to the MPR and the DPRK at the end of September 1986, as well as his working visit to the PRC, made a contribution to improving the relations between Asian and European socialist countries. The visits to these countries paid in October 1986 by E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, also contributed to strengthening cooperation and interaction between socialist states on the two continents. These meetings and talks once again graphically confirmed that despite all the individuality of the countries of socialism, their relations



are defined by a common socioeconomic nature and by long-term, coinciding interests in the sphere of international policy.

The cooperation of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community with Yugoslavia is constantly expanding. Broad opportunities for this cooperation are also being revealed in the sphere of international relations. These include the common aspiration for peace and lasting security, and the struggle to halt the arms race, and actions to stop it from being transferred to near-earth space. M.S. Gorbachev's meetings with Yugoslav party and state leaders in 1985-86 confirmed the readiness of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia to further deepen their relations and to cooperate on the basis of jointly defined principles and accords--mutual understanding, confidence, and complete equality of rights.

The talks between CPSU General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the DPRK, confirmed once again the joint desire to develop cooperation in every way possible and to interact in the struggle for an improvement in the situation in Asia and in the basin of the Pacific Ocean and for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe. The USSR and other countries of the socialist community consistently come out in support of the major initiatives which the DPRK has most recently put forward, such as the proposals to turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peaceful zone, to organize a dialogue between the north and the south, to strictly observe the armistice agreement, and others. The Government of the DPRK also acts in favor of these proposals, and this creates another area for joint or parallel actions by the countries of socialism in solving international problems.

The Soviet Union, supported by the other countries of the socialist community, consistently acts for the normalization of relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Speaking in Sofia in September 1984, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that "with joint goodwill it would be possible to resolve this issue in the interests of the peoples of both states and in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism."

Having come up against the strengthening interaction of socialist states in resolving matters of international policy, the forces of international imperialism are trying to weaken this interaction in various roundabout ways. To this end they actuate the levers of the so-called "differentiation" policy, which is implemented not only by setting individual socialist countries against each other, but also by dividing them into "good" countries, which must be encouraged, and "bad ones," which must be punished.

A characteristic feature of the antisocialist strategy of imperialism in our time has been the aspiration to revive the long-standing attempts to set the East European socialist states openly against the Soviet Union.

These methods of imperialist policy were displayed clearly in the first half of the eighties with regard to Poland. Speaking in Warsaw in April 1985, W. Jaruzelski stressed that "it was precisely with our country that international imperialism intended to begin the so-called 'dismantling' of socialism. It did not spare resources or efforts to achieve this. It was not ashamed to use

measures of pressure, to announce a boycott and restrictions, or to wage low propagandist aggression."

This policy has not brought and will not bring its initiators any success. Attempts by the West to carry out "differentiated" actions against the countries of socialism invariably meet with a growing aspiration by the latter to resolve their problems jointly, on the road of further strengthening cooperation between themselves. "We are convinced of socialism's ability to solve its most complex tasks," M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress. "In order to achieve this it is vitally important to have increasingly energetic interaction, which has the effect of not only forming but also multiplying our potentials and serves as a stimulus for our forward movement." The experience of the Polish events has shown the great importance of joint actions by the socialist countries in rendering fraternal assistance to the Polish People's Republic in order to put right the crisis situation of the beginning of the eighties. For this reason even the authors of a collective work entitled "Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World," which was recently published in the United States, were forced in the final analysis to recognize that attempts by the West to shake the unity of the socialist countries are fruitless.

There are still very substantial reserves in the task of expanding the cooperation of socialist countries, and these have been discussed at the 27th CPSU Congress and at the highest forums of the fraternal parties. The countries of the socialist community are today carrying out an enormous amount of work to comprehensively develop cooperation in all spheres, including matters of international policy. Particular significance is now being acquired by new, more flexible, and more diverse forms of coordinating the actions of community countries in fundamental issues, by comradely interest in one another's successes, by precise fulfillment of obligations which are assumed, and by deep understanding of both national and common, international interests taken as an organically interconnected whole.

In his day V.I. Lenin stressed that "unity in what is basic, fundamental, and essential is not disturbed but ensured by //diversity//in detail." (Footnote 1) (V.I. Lenin: "Complete Collected Works, "Vol 35, p 203) [word between double slantlines published in italics] The contemporary practice of political cooperation between the countries of socialism confirms that if each country definitely has specific interests and standpoints on individual issues, these interests and standpoints coincide in the most fundamental and important respects with the countries' scientifically substantiated collective policy, which arises from the very essence of the socialist system. For this reason, as the CPSU program states, "Soviet Communists advocate increasingly effective collaboration among the fraternal countries in the international arena, taking account of the situation and interests in each of them and the common interests of the community." As a natural and indispensable condition for the progressive development of the world socialist system, the unity of socialist countries is a unity in diversity, a voluntary unity which is aimed at solving the most complex international problems, including the main problem--the question of war and peace, the problem of human civilization's very survival in our nuclear missile age.

The November 1986 meeting between leaders of the fraternal parties of those socialist countries which are CEMA members was a new step in the strengthening of cooperation between the countries of socialism in the international arena. Discussing its results, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that the CPSU's position, which was set out at the meeting, is a practical expression of the policy of intensifying cooperation between ruling communist and workers parties, of priority development of relations with socialist countries, and of strengthening world socialism. It was stressed that the CPSU highly values the fraternal parties' support for the Soviet Union's principled position in Reykjavik and that it considers it important to further increase joint efforts by socialist countries in the struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons and reduce conventional weapons and to strengthen peace and international security.

Today as never before it is vitally necessary to further expand cooperation between all socialist countries in the international arena, to increase the dynamism of this cooperation, and to augment efforts in the cause of mobilizing the forces of peace and progress in order to avert the nuclear threat and establish just and civilized international relations, which are the only ones which mankind deserves on the threshold to the third millennium.

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/12913  
CSO: 1807/131

## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### GOALS, METHODS OF REGULATING INCOMES OUTSIDE PUBLIC PRODUCTION

Moscow IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 86 (signed to press 22 Aug 86) pp 104-117

[Article by A. P. Yershov: "Regulation of Incomes of the Population Outside the Sphere of Public Organized Production and Distribution (From the Experience of the European CEMA Countries)"]

[Text] The article considers the basic goals, forms and methods of the regulation of income of the population in European CEMA countries which is formed outside the sphere of publicly organized production and distribution. It earmarks the most common features of the classification of these approaches. It analyzes the country's experience in utilizing legal norms, taxes and prices for regulating incomes from individual labor activity in handicraft production, the sphere of services and agriculture. It also elucidates certain problems of taxation of inheritances and gifts as well as property control.

It is a law of socialism to have a high degree of centralized, planned regulation of distribution relations which, in particular, is expressed in the formation of the basic mass of incomes of the population within the framework of public organized production and distribution. A much smaller part of the income is formed outside this framework and is not monitored by the state or is regulated only partially. But in terms of the scope of its formation these incomes are not so insignificant that they can be ignored as an object of socioeconomic control. On the contrary, there is a persistent need (and an objective possibility) for more complete and consistent regulation of this category of income, which is dictated by at least two factors.

The first of these is related to the existence of income from individual labor activity, even under the conditions of socialism. As we know, one of the main functions of the socialist state is to control the measure of labor and the measure of consumption. The need for strictly adhering to this is indicated in the new edition of the CPSU program and in the program documents and decisions of other fraternal parties. Naturally, the realization of this function cannot be limited to the framework of the public sector and should encompass equally the sphere of individual production as well, but through the

utilization of different methods and means. The second factor follows from the need for active state intervention in the processes of unorganized distribution, which comprises one of the important units in the mechanism for consistent realization of socialist principles of distribution during the course of transforming nominal incomes into real ones, right down to the stage of the final consumption. Not all processes of random distribution submit to public and state control, and in certain cases (for example, distribution within the family) they are socially justified, and such control is superfluous. At the same time it is quite wrong to underestimate the negative economic and sociopolitical role of antisocial forms of redistribution, which is much greater than one might judge from the purely quantitative parameters of the free distribution. First of all, one must keep in mind that it distorts the links between labor and consumption in a direction that stands in contradiction to public interests. Thus a destructive influence is exerted on the socialist system of incentives and motivations for labor and obstacles are created on the path to reinforcing the socialist way of life. Therefore it is quite appropriate for the CPSU and other fraternal parties to devote so much attention to the fight against deviations from socialist principles of distribution both in the sphere of public production and outside it. "The party attaches fundamental significance," it says in the new edition of the CPSU Program, "to a resolute irradiation of unearned incomes and any deviations from socialist principles of distribution" [1]. The practical realization of this point was the adoption in May 1986 by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of decrees concerning measures for stepping up the fight against unearned incomes.

Table 1--Proportion of Income Formed Outside the Sphere of Publicly Organized Production and Distribution, in the Structure of Family Budgets of the Population of European CEMA Countries in 1984\*

Country	Workers	Employees	Cooperative Peasants	Pensioners	Average
Bulgaria	21.2	14.3	39.4	--	22.6
Hungary	11.3	8.6	26.1	18.9	15.8
Poland	13.5	15.5	--	23.2	--
USSR	-5.9-		26.4	--	--
CSSR	14.3	16.1	17.2	--	--

\* Calculated according to data from national statistical annuals by excluding from the overall sum of incomes into the family budget wages in the public sector and incomes from consumption funds. In the USSR the total incomes were taken into account, in the CSSR--monetary incomes, and in the remaining countries--private incomes of the population. For Hungary, the data are from 1982.

With a quantitative evaluation of the scope of the formation of incomes outside the sphere of publicly organized production and distribution one encounters a number of unsolved and extremely complicated problems. A considerable proportion of these incomes by their very nature will not submit to precise statistical accounting. An approximate idea of them can be

provided by investigation of family budgets, although the sphere of these investigations, as a rule, does not include atypical groups of population, many of which are distinguished by a high proportion of incomes from the category under consideration. For the same reasons international comparisons of the corresponding indicators for individual countries are purely rough figures, the more so since the policies for calculating them are not the same in all ways (Table 1).

The information presented in Table 1, for the majority of countries, was provided mainly by income from private subsidiary farms (up to three-fourths of all the income of this category) and also from individual labor activity. It should be added to this that the prevalence of the individual sector in Polish agriculture conditioned the specific structure of the total incomes of the population in this country: incomes from payment for labor in the public sector and revenues from the public consumption fund in 1984 accounted for 64 percent of the private incomes, and of the remaining 36 percent almost two-fifths (14 percent) was composed of income from the individual peasant farm.

For certain countries the figures presented in Table 1 also took into account revenues from the financial system: interest on loans in the savings banks (1.5-2 percent of the income), winnings from lottery and insurance. An appreciable proportion is also accounted for by redistribution among families (material assistance, inheritance, gifts), which is reflected in practice only in the statistics of the family budgets, but it plays an essential role in the incomes of individual groups of the population. Thus budget research in Poland revealed that in the lowest paid group of employees, consisting mainly of young families, this source of material goods and monetary incomes accounted for up to one-fifth of all the income [5]. It is typical that in terms of the level of provision of many durable goods this group is far below the average indicators.

But the data that are being considered reflect only part of the incomes formed outside the sphere of public organized production and distribution. The volume of the remaining, so-called "invisible" incomes can be evaluated only with even less precision. In Hungary at the beginning of the 1980's, according to certain calculations, it amounted to 15 percent of the total incomes of the population; higher indicators have also been given--15-20 percent [7, 8]. In Poland the volume of invisible income, according to existing estimates, amounted to 10-20 percent of the monetary incomes of the population [10]. In the USSR during the course of budget investigations in one of the cities, using special methods, it was revealed that incomes from unrevealed (concealed) sources amounted to 6.2 percent of the total incomes of the families. As is pointed out in materials of the investigation, these sources are revenues that are not taken into account from private subsidiary farming, the rental of housing, and also income from granting services that are not controlled by the society [2]. Thus the scope of obtaining income that are and are not taken into account outside the sphere of publicly organized distribution is such that they must be treated as a significant economic and an even more significant social phenomenon.

Incomes of the population formed outside the sphere of public production and distribution, with all the diversity of their socioeconomic nature, have one

common sign which, incidentally, does not unite them as much as it distinguishes them from other forms of income in the socialist society: they are not directly related to the functioning of public production. Nonetheless this sign conditions a feature of these incomes that is very important from the practical standpoint--the publicly unorganized nature of their formation and, as a result, the need for specific mechanisms for regulating them. It is precisely this, in our opinion, that is the adequate condition for a thorough consideration of all incomes formed outside the sphere of public production and distribution in their totality.

Certain authors are inclined to see the common feature of these incomes in the fact that they are derived from the basic forms of socialist distribution [3]. With respect to a number of processes of redistribution and, consequently, incomes, this approach is correct, but with respect to income from individual labor activity, it is not suitable if one because of the incorrect understanding of the very term "derivative." In our opinion, distribution in the sphere of individual labor activity, by virtue of its content, is a special, specific form of distribution according to labor, which does not follow either historically or logically from the basic form, but exists alongside it, although it cannot be regarded as isolated from it in all cases. The degree of specificity of distribution in the sphere of individual production is determined by the varying degree of isolation of the latter from public production, and at the same time one should take into account the influence of socialist economic (under normal conditions--decisive), their proportions and their economic mechanism on individual production and the processes of distribution related to it. At the same time it is obvious that the differences in the degree of connection between individual production and public production give rise to the need to select adequate methods and means of regulating income from individual labor activity. Certain methods can be applied to incomes of noncooperating handicraftsmen, others--to incomes from private practice, and still others--to incomes from activity that is individual in nature but is carried out under orders from state and cooperative enterprises and organizations and is paid for by them. In the last case the specific nature of the distribution of income from individual labor activity is expressed more clearly, and the incomes themselves can be regarded as a transition to wages. The activity of economic labor societies at enterprises of Hungary can serve as an appropriate example.

Thus regulation of the multifaceted incomes outside the sphere of public organized production and distribution requires a detailed analysis and a classification of their forms. In the first approximation they can be divided into two large groups: income from individual labor activity and income appearing as a result of random processes of redistribution. Basically corresponding to this division is the division of incomes and to earned and unearned, the intermediate position between which is occupied by incomes that are disproportionately high as compared to labor expenditures and also those that appear as a result of differential rent.

It should be noted that the concept of unearned incomes is frequently used as a synonym for illegitimate or unfair incomes. This equation reflects the labor nature of the socialist society and on the whole correctly characterizes a considerable proportion of unearned incomes. At the same time, a

considerable number of completely legitimate and fair (at least up to certain limits) incomes of the individual are not directly related to his personal labor activity. These incomes appear not only as a result of socially justified, publicly organized redistribution (from public consumption funds), but also as a result of certain processes of unorganized redistribution (incomes from inheritance, gifts from rental of housing, dachas and so forth). On the other hand, certain types of labor activity, although there are not many, bring in income which cannot be regarded either as legitimate or as fair (prohibited industries, poaching, home production of liquor and so forth). Therefore the division of incomes into earned and unearned must be augmented by another important criterion of classification--their legality or illegality, which must reflect the essential qualitative characteristic of all income--the degree to which it corresponds to the principles of socialist distribution. In practice these two criteria do not always coincide, which might be brought about by the lack of development of the corresponding legal norms and the fact that they lag behind the demands of practice. Moreover, frequently when one does not have a clear-cut quantitative determination, the degree of correspondence to socialist principles of distribution can differ for individual kinds of income. In addition to the clearly antisocial forms of redistribution there are partial deviations from quantitative norms of socialist distribution whose regulation is inexpedient because of certain temporal factors. Thus it can be inexpedient to have a sharp delimitation of prices on the kolkhoz market since this could exert a retarding influence on the production of the corresponding kinds of products from private subsidiary farms. An increasing control over incomes from the rental of housing can create additional housing difficulties for young families.

When regarding individual kinds of incomes one must take into account how they are evaluated in public opinion. Mainly this evaluation reflects the degree to which they correspond to socialist principles of distribution. The deviations encountered can be conditioned by individual peculiarities of social psychology of various segments of the population, specific historical development of the countries and regions, and the lack of a sufficiently complete or objective idea about many phenomena in the sphere of distribution.

In individual countries and in various social groups there have been different opinions, for example, about such a category of income as tips in the sphere of services, additional payments to doctors and lawyers, and so forth. A considerable proportion of the population, in keeping with established traditions, take tips and in certain cases even consider this to be fair payment for additional services, attention and politeness. Incidentally, these components of high-quality service, unfortunately, have not yet been given a proper position in the system of material incentives for workers in the sphere of services. Tips are reflected in various ways by legal norms of individual countries as well. In certain countries legal documents contain no prohibitions against them as long as they do not border on bribes, while in others tips and all kinds of extortion from the population are prohibited by law. Public opinion is equally varied regarding monetary incomes from private subsidiary farms and from various kinds of individual labor activity.

Related to the diversity of incomes of the population formed outside the sphere of publicly organized production and distribution is the utilization of



a wide range of various methods of regulating this. These methods play different roles in the distribution policies of the CEMA countries. These roles are determined by the degree and nature of the development of individual labor activity and the scope of random redistribution. It is possible to single out three basic groups of the aforementioned methods: 1) economic, which include direct regulation of incomes and indirect economic levers; 2) administrative-legal, and 3) political-educational.

The first group is undoubtedly the most important. As the practice of the CEMA countries shows, the application of administrative-legal and educational measures is necessary, but it turns out to be less effective, "up in the air," if these measures are not reinforced by the utilization of economic levers and unless ways are found for effectively influencing the random redistribution processes through the mechanism of economic interests.

This problem should be considered on the level of general economic conditions for the appearance of various kinds of incomes. Thus various illegal incomes both in the sphere of public production and outside it are linked to certain difficulties in the development of the socialist economy, to improvement of the economic mechanism and to omissions in the distribution policy. For example, unjustifiably high incomes from renting housing (particularly stage housing) reflect not only the unsatisfied demand for it, but also the imperfection of the mechanism for distributing dwelling space and the lack of a flexible system for accounting for it and organizing redistribution. Illegal incomes from individual labor activity, as a rule, indicate the existence of a number of needs of the population that are not yet being satisfied within the framework of publicly organized production and distribution of material goods and paid services. It should be noted that individual activity is frequently more efficient and reacts better to the appearance and change of needs of the population and their effective demand, and it occupies particular positions even in those areas where it would seem that the state organizations have unquestionable advantages (for example, partial mediation when exchanging dwelling space). Therefore in order to fight against illegal earned incomes it is necessary to combine prohibitive administrative and legal measures with the elimination, first of all, of economic conditions for obtaining this income through crowding out illegal labor activity from those "niches" which it occupies. Undoubtedly, the main method of this displacement is improvement of the economic mechanism in all spheres of the national economy and comprehensive and proportional development of public production. In certain cases this problem can be solved by organizing individual labor activity on a legal basis.

Special attention should be devoted to the possibilities of the appearance of illegal incomes from the manifestation of "private initiative" by workers in the public sector. Parasitic individual activity using public resources (including working time) makes it possible to achieve advantages so great as to be unthinkable within the framework of legitimate individual production. And here there is no way to escape the persistent need to improve the economic mechanism so as to cut off paths for the loss of public resources, which frequently can in no way be reflected, either in reported results of the activity of the enterprises or in the earnings of their workers.

In recent years many European CEMA countries have undertaken a number of measures to step up individual labor activity outside of agriculture.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, more advantageous economic conditions have been established for this (lower tax rates, the application of lump sum taxation, the introduction of various tax breaks), particularly for beginning producers (credit, exemption from paying taxes during the initial period). On the other hand, stricter measures have been applied to people who engage in this activity without the appropriate permission, concealing their incomes from taxation. Thus previously in Hungary when people who had not registered their individual labor activity were discovered practically the only thing they had to do was pay the taxes. A large monetary fine has now been added to this punishment which was not very effective.

One of the most complicated problems related to individual labor activity is effective regulation of income from it. This can be done through regulation of individual production itself by limiting the sphere of its application and by limiting (as in Hungary, the GDR and Poland) or prohibiting (as in Bulgaria, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia) the utilization of hired labor, and also with the help of centralized regulation of prices, conditions for selling products, and so forth. An important place in this mechanism is occupied by taxes, whose functions are fairly diverse and depend on the general conditions for carrying out individual labor activity. These functions do not have to be only fiscal; they can be augmented by functions of regulation and stimulation of production. In many cases the taxes play a social regulating role.

The most typical common feature of the system of taxes from the population in the European CEMA countries is the individual and higher taxation on incomes formed outside the public sector (not including agriculture), although this practice differs in individual countries. In Hungary and Romania, for example, taxes are imposed only on income from individual labor activity and the sale of immobile assets. Taxes are not imposed on individual wages of workers and employees (the wage fund is taxed). In Poland the basic kinds of incomes outside the public sector of the national economy (from handicraft and trade activity and from the sale of immobile assets) are taxed with an income tax, but incomes in the public sector and certain incomes outside of it are taxed with a lesser equalizing tax, whose sphere of application is limited to incomes which are more than twice as much as the average level of wages in the country. In the GDR and USSR taxes on incomes from handicraft activity for relatively small amounts (in the GDR--approximately up to the level of 90 percent and in the USSR--up to the level of 130 percent of the average wages in the national economy) is equal to the tax on wages of workers and employees, and in excess of the aforementioned levels it increases at a much greater progression. In Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia the taxation of craftsmen and home workers, even when their incomes are at low levels, appreciably exceeds the taxes on wages. The maximum tax rates for incomes from handicraft activity (according to the basic scale) in Bulgaria is 81 percent, the GDR--90 percent, USSR--65 percent, and CSSR--80 percent, while the maximum tax rates for wages are 14, 20, 13 and 20 percent, respectively.

The systems for taxation of the incomes of the publication outside the public sector in the European CEMA countries differ essentially from one another in

terms of the degree of differentiation depending on the kind of income. It is characteristic of Hungary to have practically none of this kind of differentiation. Since 1983 a unified tax has been set here for all kinds of incomes outside the public sector (not including agriculture. Thus an important step has been taken toward a universal income tax whose introduction is earmarked for 1987. Poland has also established a unified scale of income tax for individual handicraft and trade activity and the sale of immobile assets. But it is directly in effect only with respect to incomes from production activity, mainly handicrafts. The tax rates for other kinds of incomes are increased with a coefficient of recalculation: for incomes from the sale of foodstuffs and from private public hearing enterprises--5 percent, for trade in nonfoodstuffs and nonproduction services--10 percent, and from the sale of immobile assets--20 percent. The maximum coefficient (+ 25 percent) has been established for incomes from undeclared sources. For these kinds of incomes the amounts of the tax quotas for incomes have been reduced correspondingly. Small handicraftsmen, merchants and owners of small private enterprises with a limited number of hired workers (up to 1-3 people depending on the nature of the activity) can pay tax in the form of state duty or tax quotas, whose rates are differentiated according to the specific kinds of production and also according to the number of hired workers and the sizes of the population points where the given enterprises are located.

In the GDR just as in Poland, differentiated taxation is applied for various groups of handicraftsmen and merchants, but individual tax scales with various progressions are used for these purposes. These groups are (listed in the order of the increased amounts of taxation): 1) commission tradesmen who work on the basis of contracts with state enterprises and pay taxes from the share of the commission and others employed in the shared rent sector (public catering, hospitals and so forth); 2) noncooperating handicraftsmen employed by offering services to the population; 3) other noncooperating handicraftsmen; 4) independent merchants and owners of private public catering enterprises. Additionally, owners of private enterprises pay a progressive tax on wages of hired workers.

In the remaining countries--Bulgaria, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia--all kinds of domestic cottage trade activity is taxed at unified rates. The number of additional factors influencing the amounts of taxation is extremely small here, which reflects to a considerable degree the limited scale of domestic cottage trade activity and the corresponding lack of a need for a developed system of regulators for it. At the same time, in the aforementioned countries as well as in the GDR, there is individual taxation for certain kinds of incomes formed outside the public sector of the national economy. In the GDR and the USSR a separate scale is used for taxing income from private practice, and in Romania and the USSR--for income from renting housing and other premises (in other countries these incomes are taxed on a level with cottage trade activity).

All the aforementioned countries have established individual taxes for income from literary, artistic and scientific activity and for other kinds of authors' remunerations except for wages, and in Bulgaria and the GDR a separate tax is imposed for individual engineering activity, while in Romania there are separate taxes on honorariums for actors and other performers.

Everywhere, with the exception of the USSR, these taxes exceed the taxes on wages in the public sector.

An important element of the system of taxation of incomes of the population outside the sphere of public production are benefits of a social or economic (incentive) nature. The latter are reflected in the reduction or complete release from payment of taxes for certain kinds of activities, including in individual regions.

Differentiation of taxes according to the various kinds of individual labor activity and the existence of a whole number of additional factors influencing the general conditions for carrying this out and the amounts of taxation (benefits and so forth) make quantitative comparisons of tax rates in the various countries difficult and incomplete. Nonetheless it seems possible and not without interest to compare the taxes for cottage trade activity (Table 2). Attention is drawn first and foremost to the dependency of their amounts on the existence (Bulgaria, USSR, CSSR) or lack (Hungary and Romania) of a tax on wages of workers and employees, and also on the existence of an equalizing tax in Poland.

Table 2--Taxes on Incomes From Individual (Domestic Cottage Trade) Activity as Compared to the Average Wages in the Public Sector in 1984, %

Country	Tax Rates on Basic Scale at Levels Exceeding Average Wages, N Times					
	N = 1	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 5	N = 10
Bulgaria	25	38	49	57	62	72
Hungary	7	17	24	30	34	46
Poland	5	25	37	45	50	64
Romania	9	21	28	35	39	58
USSR	10	27	39	46	59	57
CSSR	23	36	49	57	61	71

As was already noted, taxes serve as an important, multifunctional instrument, but it is far from the only one for regulating incomes from individual labor activity. A no less essential role is played by the general conditions for implementation in the mechanism for regulation of individual production itself. An example of expensive utilization of levers of centralized management for these purposes is the experience of the GDR where planned assignments are developed for private enterprises and wage rates for hired personnel are established centrally. Moreover, here (as, incidentally, in Romania as well) there is a principle of unified prices in all categories of trade and unified rates for services for all enterprises of the sphere of services, regardless of the form of ownership. Because of these conditions the policy for taxation in the GDR is distinguished by a number of peculiarities and, in particular, by the extensive application of lump sum taxation at rates that are established beforehand. The kinds of individual labor activity that are in shortest supply and the least profitable may not be taxed at all, mainly in those regions where there is the greatest shortage of the corresponding goods and services.

A different kind of example is provided by the experience in Poland, where the previous lump sum system under the conditions of an unbalanced domestic market and rapid price increases led to an unjustified increase in incomes in the private and rent-shared sector. Therefore by now they have completely abolished the contractual lump sum taxation whereby the amount of taxes was established at the beginning of each year on the basis of anticipated incomes. Instead of it they have introduced a tax taking into account turnover, the amount of which the taxpayer corroborates with documentation, and on this basis, proceeding from a particular profit norm, they determine the income subject to taxation. The lump sum form has been retained in the aforementioned tax quotas and state duties, but because of the increase in prices their amount is changing each year. For the same reason the income and equalizing taxes are subject to periodic revision.

The specific forms of regulation of incomes in the European CEMA countries have developed in the sphere of private subsidiary farming. Without discussing those common conditions which influence the amounts of income from private subsidiary farms (limitation on the area of the farms, prohibition of the utilization of hired labor force, restrictions on the acquisition of technical means and so forth), let us turn to the methods of more direct influence on these incomes.

On the majority of European CEMA countries private subsidiary farms are taxed with a tax which, if not in terms of its title, then in terms of its content, is a land tax. In these countries (including the USSR) its amount per unit of area, with small exceptions, does not depend on the sizes of the farms. In Hungary the agricultural tax for the utilization of land with an area of more than 0.6 hectares is at a higher rate (a separate tax is also imposed for monetary income if the amount of the gross income exceeds 150,000 foreign, and this sum does not include the monetary earnings from the sale of dairy products and cattle). In Czechoslovakia progressive taxation of private subsidiary farms is constructed according to a more complicated system: on the basis of evaluation normatives of the income per unit of land area, differentiated for the various regions of the country, they calculate the conventional sum of income from a subsidiary farm, which also serves as a basis for calculating taxes according to progressive rates.

It should be noted that the territorial differentiation of taxes according to natural-climatic and economic-geographical factors is a common feature of taxation of private subsidiary farms in the European countries. For obvious reasons, a broad range of tax rates has been established in the USSR: the ratio between the minimum and maximum rates of agricultural tax is 1:11, while, for example, in Czechoslovakia the analogous range of the normative income is much less--approximately 1:2.3. But in our country the absolute amounts of agricultural tax are low (the maximum is equal to 2.20 rubles per 0.01 hectares--for irrigated land in the Uzbek and Tajik SSR's) and therefore their territorial differentiation is not economically very significant. Moreover, in the USSR and in many other CEMA countries basic significance is attached not so much to the amounts of the rates of agricultural tax as to the numerous tax benefits. Let us list the most important benefits of an economic nature. Thus, the following are not subject to taxes: in Bulgaria--income

from the sale of products from private subsidiary farms to procurement organizations (with the exception of sales on a commission basis); in Hungary --plots on private subsidiary farms that are fallow and plots on which vegetables are raised for contract delivery; in the GDR--income from crop growing and bee keeping if it does not exceed 7,000 marks a year; in Romania--plots allotted for hothouse farming and beekeeping. In Czechoslovakia there are no taxes on the production of the main kinds of food products on subsidiary farms of workers in the public sector, and also those of pensioners and students (the taxation remains in effect for raising grapes, flowers and fur-bearing animals). The condition for granting these benefits is evidence from the main place of work of the conscientious performance of labor duties.

Additionally, in the aforementioned countries there are social tax benefits: for pensioners, invalids, and people supporting dependents. In the USSR, as distinct from other European CECA countries, for the agricultural tax they have established exclusively benefits of a social nature (in the broad sense of this concept). Thus no agricultural taxes at all are paid for subsidiary farms belonging to people of pension age, teachers, medical personnel, agronomists, economists and other specialists working in rural areas, management personnel of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises, and also of private subsidiary farms which include war invalids and disabled people who are equal to them in terms of pension support. Rebates on agricultural tax in an amount of 50 percent have been established for a number of categories of the population.

One of the main paths to regulating income from private subsidiary farms is regulation of prices for their commercial products. In the first place, this includes the establishment of procurement prices for them. Second, there are effective levers for regulating prices for that proportion of products from private subsidiary farms that is sold on a commission basis (at contractual prices). Third, there is a wide range of means of influencing retail prices for products of private subsidiary farms, beginning with administrative restrictions right down to methods of indirect influence through alternative offering of goods of the corresponding assortment and quality in the state and cooperative trade networks, developing collective gardening and orchard raising and improving the work of the markets themselves.

The aforementioned methods of regulating prices for products from private subsidiary farms play different roles in various socialist countries. In places where the proportion of private subsidiary farms in agricultural production is comparatively small--in the GDR and especially in Czechoslovakia (10-11 percent of the gross output)--the majority of the commercial products from these farms are sold through the procurement network, which is extensively developed. The individual agricultural market in the GDR is extremely limited, and there practically is none in Czechoslovakia. Through procurement organizations, stores and large agricultural enterprises, they sell most of the commercial products from private subsidiary farms in Hungary, and this amount is constantly growing. In the USSR organized channels are important for selling a whole number of products that are produced by subsidiary farms. According to our calculations, in 1984 the proportion of state procurements alone in the commercial output of potatoes on private subsidiary farms amounted to approximately 47 percent, it was somewhat less

for vegetables and eggs, for meat it reached almost one-fifth, and for milk and dairy products--almost two-thirds. To this one must add procurements of procurements from private subsidiary farms through consumers' cooperation at contractual prices. The volume of these procurements is considerably less than state procurements, but for a number of products their share of the commodity output of private subsidiary farms is fairly high. For example, for meat and eggs it reaches one-fifth. It is obvious that the share of state and cooperative trade in the sale of products from subsidiary farms in our country could be much greater not only as a result of the development of corresponding material and technical base, but also with better organization of procurements without any additional capital investments.

A number of European CEMA countries have experience in administrative limitation of market prices, as a rule, by linking them to state retail prices. The strictest limitations have been established recently in Romania: the prices on the markets cannot exceed the prices in state trade by more than 5 percent, and this difference is not allowed for all products. In the GDR this difference in prices cannot exceed 10 percent. In Bulgaria there is a fairly flexible and differentiated system of maximum prices for products sold at cooperative markets and in firm and commissioned stores. Local agencies have been given a great deal of authority in the establishment of maximum prices. Thus the district people's councils have the right to permit certain firm and commission stores as well as cooperative markets to establish prices for fruits and vegetables at 50 percent (for hothouse products--40 percent) above the state retail prices. It should be noted that in the USSR two periodically attempts have been made (and are still being made on a local scale) to introduce maximum prices in kolkhoz markets, but they have not produced the desired results. This does not mean that administrative regulation of prices for the kolkhoz market in general is inexpedient.

On the whole one can state that the tax mechanism, on the one hand, and the regulation of prices, on the other, provide for more consistent regulation of incomes from private subsidiary farms in the European CEMA countries than in the USSR. Thus in our country taxation of private subsidiary farms in no way takes into account the degree of their marketability, that is, it does not take into account the extent to which one farm or another is actually subsidiary. Yet in the USSR the proportion of commercial output in the gross production of private subsidiary farms even for the main food products is extremely significant: according to our calculations, in 1984 for potatoes it amounted to almost one-fifth, and for vegetables and meats--more than one-third. Behind these average figures, of course, there is a great deal of differentiation (including territorial) of the farms in terms of their level of marketability. Even more significant is the fact that certain kinds of products on private subsidiary farms almost complete or to a significant degree oriented toward sales. One might include among these flower growing, fur bearing animal raising, hothouse production and so forth. The taxation of private subsidiary farms, in our opinion, does not sufficiently take into account the immense diversity of the soil and climate conditions in the USSR and the existence of regions with uniquely favorable conditions that make it possible to draw very high differential rents.

It would seem that when regulating income from private subsidiary farms all attention should be concentrated on income from commercial products, mainly from their sales on the kolkhoz market, which requires the corresponding restructuring of the tax mechanism. But the additional measures should avoid an actual overloading of the tax burden on the consumers. In certain cases this function could be performed by a flexible system of limitation of market prices. It would be worthwhile to study the question of introducing in one form or another a tax for high monetary incomes from the sale of products from private subsidiary farms, mainly those kinds which are not among the basic food products. It must be emphasized that the proposed measures basically affect a fairly narrow range of private subsidiary farms.

An extremely important role, both economic and sociopolitical, is played by the regulation of incomes from individual peasant farms in Poland. In Poland the majority of commercial output from individual peasant farms (at the present time--up to 85-87 percent) is sold through organized channels, and the proportion sold on the market for consumer goods amounts to only 3-5 percent. The rest of the commercial output from individual farms is products for industrial and semi-industrial purposes (forage, working and productive livestock and so forth) sold both on the market and during the course of so-called neighborhood exchange. The agricultural tax, as in most other CEMA countries, is exacted per unit of land area, and soil-climate and economic-geographical conditions are taken into account through translating the actual area of land into conventional hectares using a coefficient for translation that varies from 0.25 to 1.90. Let us note in passing that the range of differentiation of tax rates (1:7.5) is much broader than in other European CEMA countries. The basic form of taxation established in Poland is tax on income from so-called special kinds of agricultural production which produce significant amounts of income on relatively small plots. These include hothouse farming; raising mushrooms, flowers and flower seeds, fruit and berry bushes and decorative bushes; cultivation of apple orchards; poultry raising; raising broilers, and raising animals for fur. The condition for being included in special kinds of agricultural production is a certain area of utilized land. For example, the area of an apple orchard must be no less than 2.5 hectares, and an area planted in rose bushes--no less than 0.15 hectares. The tax on special kinds of agricultural production is calculated on the basis of evaluation normatives of income per unit of land area or per unit of animal husbandry products. Based on these (similarly to the way the agricultural tax is calculated in the CSSR), they evaluate the sum of the proposed taxes, which also serves directly as a basis for calculating the tax according to the progressively increasing rates which are identical to the rates of the aforementioned equalization tax. As in many other CEMA countries, the rates for the agricultural tax in Poland can be reduced or increased to certain limits (by a maximum of 20 percent) by a decision of local authorities.

A unique feature of the agricultural tax in Poland which is conditioned mainly by the modern dynamics of domestic prices is the policy established by a law of 14 November 1984 for determining the tax rates per conventional hectare: it is taken as equal to the contract price of 2.5 quintals of rye in the corresponding year, which links the taxation to the increase in nominal incomes. The introduction of this policy means a fairly sharp increase in the agricultural tax and therefore a stage-by-stage changeover to the new system



is envisioned: in 1985 the tax rate was equal to the price of 1.5 quintals of rye, beginning in 1986--2.0 quintals, and the changeover to the monetary equivalent of 2.5 quintals will be put off until the next period.

One of the main reasons for increasing the agricultural tax was the desire to activate its regulating economic and social functions, particularly as a result of the corresponding increase in the significance of the tax benefits.

As the standard of living of the population in the European CEMA countries rises, there is a gradual accumulation of private property. The significance of regulating incomes associated with such phenomena as inheritances and gifts increases correspondingly. In the Soviet Union we have not developed a sufficiently differentiated system for regulating income received in the form of inheritance. Their taxation, essentially, amounts to exacting a state duty for issuing the certificate of the right to the inheritance. The maximum amount of the duty is 10 percent (with the sum of the inheritance being more than 1,001 rubles), regardless of any additional factors. Only the inheritance of authors' remunerations are taxed with a high progressive tax, the maximum rate of which is 75-90 percent (depending on the kind of work). The maximum possible amount of duty according to agreements for gifts is 3 percent of the value of the agreement.

In the majority of other European CEMA countries there are two flexible systems of taxation of inheritances and gifts. With all the differences of these systems, one can single out several principles they all have in common whose application, in our opinion, is of a certain interest for the USSR as well. In the first place, in the majority of cases gifts are taxed at the same rates as inheritances, and in Bulgaria their taxation is even higher (with the exception of especially large sums). In the second place, the amount of the taxes depends on how closely related the benefactor and the giver are. As a rule, inheritors and recipients of gifts are divided on the basis of this criteria into three or four categories to which significantly different tax rates correspond. For example, in Bulgaria the maximum amount of the tax for Category I is 50 percent for inheritances and 45 percent for gifts, and for Category III it is 75 percent and 60 percent, respectively. In Poland and Czechoslovakia the difference between the extreme categories is even greater. In Poland--19 and 75 percent (Categories I and IV) and Czechoslovakia--25 and 55 percent (Categories III and I). In an analogous way these categories are distinguished by the amounts of the untaxed quotas. In the third place, the policy of taxation on inheritances and gifts envisions a whole series of benefits both with respect to individual kinds of property that is received as in an inheritance or gift and with respect to individual categories of people receiving inheritances and gifts. Among the most widespread benefits is the freedom from taxation of household objects that are inherited, private libraries, works of art, and agricultural equipment for private subsidiary farms if the inheritors continue to work the farm, and so forth. The inheritance of homes and apartments that are private or cooperative property either are not taxed at all (if the recipients live in them) or are taxed under privileged conditions (depending on the category of recipient). In the GDR and Czechoslovakia accounts in savings banks that are inherited are not taxed and in Bulgaria the tax is removed if the sum of the account exceeds 2,000 leva. The generally accepted norm is to exclude from

taxation sums of inheritance that are spent by the heirs to pay debts of the benefactor or to pay for his illness and burial. In foreign European CEMA countries there are many other benefits for taxation of inheritances and gifts. Thus their tax regulation affects only a part of the given sphere of redistribution processes. The area covered differs appreciably among the various countries and most frequently shows the following pattern: the greater it is, the smaller the tax. Thus if one were to resort to a somewhat arbitrary comparison of taxes or inheritance, the value of whose taxed part is equal to one-tenth of the annual sum of the average wages in 1984, one would obtain the following amounts of tax rates for categories of direct heirs and spouses: in Bulgaria--34 percent, CSSR--25 percent, and Poland (for a tax regulation of inheritance is exercised more completely)--10 percent.

Taxation on inheritances and gifts and also other methods of regulating them are objectively an important element in the redistribution policy. At the same time it would be wrong to interpret their social regulating role too broadly and ascribe to them social functions that are not properly theirs, for example, the function of equalizing the conditions in which youth enter an independent life. It is known that inheritances are received from parents, as a rule, many years after their children begin their independent life and do not play a major role for them. It is equally unjustified to place large hopes in the regulation of inheritances as one of the ways of eliminating unearned income, since it is oriented not toward eliminating sources of obtaining unearned income and factors that generate them, but toward superficial and not very effective elimination of the results of deviation from socialist principles of distribution.

At the same time, one cannot deny the possibility and expediency of applying certain measures for eliminating unfair, unearned incomes in the sphere of consumption. One such measure is, for example, property control, for which certain socialist countries have created special legal institutes. Thus in Romania there is a law concerning control of the origin of property of individual people which was not acquired in a permissible way. With a clear lack of correspondence between the value of property of any particular individual and his legal income, he must show the legality of the origin of his property. A special commission sends the case for consideration by a court if it establishes that the legality of the origin of the property is questionable or its value exceeds 50,000 levs. A policy has been established for transferring illegally acquired property or its monetary value to the state [6]. In Bulgaria similar legal institutions were envisioned by the law adopted in 1973 concerning the property of citizens, which regulates the content and the limits of the property rights of citizens, the policy for acquisition, purchase and sale of immobile assets by them, and also the policy for taking away unearned income and giving it to the state. In keeping with this law it is considered that there is unearned income if the value of the property of any individual clearly exceeds the income legally received by him and members of his family. This property includes immobile assets, passenger vehicles, monetary sums, and also moveable things with considerable value if they exceed the ordinary private and economic needs of the owner and his family [4]. Attention is drawn to a certain contradictoriness in the formula presented above which, in our opinion, reflects the complexity of the practical implementation of property control.

Nor is it difficult to see that the effect of the two aforementioned laws is inevitably limited by a number of fairly significant conditions. Moreover, both laws can serve as a means of eliminating illegal income only if this income is not dispersed in current consumption, but is accumulated in the form of immobile assets, costly durable goods, or monetary deposits, which is far from always the case. This situation is certainly not random. It is our conviction that attempts to exercise broader property control without first creating the corresponding conditions for it can only discredit the efficient elements of this control.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. In Poland, the GDR, and also Hungary individual (nonagricultural) production over many years regularly plays an essential role primarily in the sphere of services. In Romania, Bulgaria and, to a lesser degree, Czechoslovakia only individual steps have been taken in this direction.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA APPROACH TO PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

#### Research Plan for 1986-1990

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 5, 1986 (signed to press 11 Aug 86) pp 180-188

[Article by V. Zenkin, candidate of technical sciences, academic secretary of MNIIPU [International Scientific-Research Institute for Problems of Management of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance]: "International Research on Problems of Management of the National Economy"]

[Text] The pivot of the work performed by the collective of scientists and specialists at the International Scientific-Research Institute for Problems of Management of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [MNIIPU] (Footnote 1) (Ed. note: The MNIIPU was formed in 1976. For information about its work see OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI, No 2, 1978, pp 155-159; No 5, 1980, pp 178-185; No 3, 1983, pp 158-165) in the new five-year plan is the development of the vitally important theoretical and practical problems of managing the national economy for purposes of intensifying the economy on the basis of the broad implementation of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

The subject by subject guide for the research plan for 1986-1990 was prepared with a consideration of the strategic goals of the fraternal parties with regard to questions of improving the national economic mechanisms and reinforcing their interaction within the confines of the CEMA. Obviously, in the theoretical concepts and the practical approaches to these problems there may be definite peculiarities, specific features, and differences that are resulting from the different scales of the economies, degrees of maturity of the socialist production relations, and levels of development of the productive forces. But basically the areas in improving economic management in the fraternal countries coincide, and this is predetermined by the socialist form of ownership of the means of production and by the commonality of the strategic tasks of developing the national economy. In all these countries the national economy is viewed as a single interconnected complex in the administration of which there must be a dialectical combination, on the one hand, of the priority of the center in resolving the key, long-term questions and, on the other hand, the independence, responsibility, and socialist entrepreneurship of the economic units.

The new five-year plan for the research activity of the MNIIPU includes the four following areas:

-- problems of strategic administration and planning of the socioeconomic and scientific-technical development of the CEMA countries;

-- organization and mechanisms of administering the economy;

-- role and place of man in administration

-- increasing the effectiveness of the control systems on the basis of using mathematical methods and computer technology.

These areas guarantee a comprehensive approach to analyzing the basic phases of administering the economy. Without this approach it is practically impossible to form an integral conception of the paths for developing the control system. This system is viewed as the chief means of implementing an economic policy that includes within itself the definition of the long-term purposes and goals in the development of the national economy (strategy of economic development); the substantiation of the ways and means of implementing the assigned purposes and achieving the planned goals (economic tactics). Corresponding to the two interrelated components of the economic policy are definite phases in the management of the national economy. Research concerning them is represented in the first two areas of the institute's plan.

A key task of the institute in the current five-year period, and a task that has found expression in all four sections of the plan, is participation in development the administrative-organizational and economic-planning aspects of the implement of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Until the Year 2000 (KP NTP SEV) The projects in this program are that cementing base which contains the design of the plan. Within the confines of the first area there is basically a concentration of the research on questions of improving the target-program methods of administering large-scale long-term international projects, as well as creating on the basis of electronic computers a present-day set of tools for analyzing various alternatives in economic and scientific-technical development. Here it is necessary to indicate first of all the development of the methodological-organizational problems of administering the implementation and development of the KP NTP SEV. In the course of working on the program, a number of fundamentally new peculiarities of cooperation were revealed. Those peculiarities required new administrative-organizational resolutions.

As is generally known, the contents basis of the KP NTP SEV is made up of five priority programs: the electronization of the national economy; the complete automation of production; new materials and technological schemes; nuclear energy engineering; and biotechnology. These programs correspond to the basic areas in scientific-technical progress that determine the development of all branches of the national economy. An important peculiarity of the Comprehensive Program is the fact that it encompasses the entire innovational cycle "science to technology to production to sales." Until recently, the cooperation among the socialist countries sometimes proved to be broken at the places where science and technology abut with production. This is the first time that the task has been assigned on such a large scale -- the

task of uniting all stages of developing and creating new technological schemes, materials, automated production entities, the information processing industry, effective sources of energy, etc. This requires new approaches to organizing the cooperation among the socialist countries, the joint coordinated work of the CEMA agencies and the national agencies for administering the national economy. The resolution of a number of tasks of an interbranch, comprehensive nature is impossible without creating the corresponding administrative agencies. There also arises a persistent need to establish more flexible and more varied direct ties among the immediate executors of the assignments in the KP NTP SEV -- the scientific, scientific-production, and production associations.

At the preceding stages of the work, the basic principles were formulated for constructing the KP NTP SEV and its priority programs, and a search was begun for new approaches to administering the implementation of the Comprehensive Program that encompasses not only all the stages of the innovational cycle, but also all the administrative stages "forecast to program to plan to implementation." The developments that were carried out constitute a scientific backlog for resolving, in the current five-year period, the task of creating an integral system of target-program planning and management of the scientific-technical cooperation among the socialist countries. The development of a system for administering the KP NTP SEV will scarcely represent a one-time act. The implementation and further development of the Comprehensive Program will undoubtedly enrich with fundamentally new experience the entire practice of administering the economic and scientific-technical cooperation. As a result of the generalization of this experience, scientific-analytical and methodological materials will be prepared, indicating the tendencies in the development of the system of target-program planning and administration of the implementation of the KP NTP SEV in the future.

It is proposed to devote a considerable amount of attention to questions of organizing the administration of the individual priority programs. Inasmuch as the KP NTP SEV will become a central element in the entire system of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the socialist countries, the projects involving the improvement of the administration of the Comprehensive Program will serve as the methodological and practical base for preparing the recommendations for improving the structure and organizational mechanism of functioning of that system on the basis of principles of target-program planning and administration.

Closely linked with that task is another, no less important one -- improving the target-program planning and administration of the development of the national economy. The vital importance of research in this area is influenced by many factors. I would like to isolate two of them: the increasing orientation of the basic economic units on the achievement of final results; the formation in the fraternal countries of multibranch national-economic complexes (MNC) which unite groups of interconnected branches. Examples of such complexes might be the agroindustrial, machine-building, fuel-and-energy, and other complexes. In recent years administrative agencies that are adequate to these complexes have begun to form. For example, in the USSR agencies for the interbranch administration of the agroindustrial and machine-

building complexes have been formed. The arising of the MNK exerts an influence upon the organization of the cooperation among the socialist countries and upon the structure of the CEMA agencies, an example of which is the creation of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Area of Machine-Building. All this increases the importance of target-program methods of planning and administration, methods which provide the opportunity to orient the economy on the assigned goals in development, to take into consideration the ramified and multidimensional ties among the objects of administration, and to achieve the efficient distribution of resources to achieve the goals that have been set.

In the course of research on this series of problems, it was planned to develop practical proposals for improving target-program planning and administration both of the national economy as a whole, and the multibranch national-economic complexes under conditions of the intensification of production and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, primarily by means of the implementation of the KP NTP SEV. It is also planned to develop recommendations dealing with the structure of the most important national-economic programs. The basic attention will be directed at ascertaining the interrelationships among the nationwide, interbranch, and regional programs for the developing of the national economy and at improving the mechanism for coordinating the long-term target programs with the five-year national-economic plans.

The first two tasks are organically supplemented by a third -- the macroeconomic modeling of the long-term development of the national economy of the CEMA countries with a consideration of the priority areas of scientific-technical progress. The complexity of the economic objects, in essence, precludes the possibility of making efficient decisions simply on the basis of qualitative evaluations. What is required here is a system of mathematical models which describes the most essential aspects of the objects to be studied. Volumetric multiversion computations on electronic computers are also necessary.

In the current five-year plan the institute plans to create a man-machine system intended for studying, with the aid of mathematical modeling and electronic computers, the long-term prospects for the socioeconomic development of the socialist countries with a consideration of various strategies in scientific-technical progress in the key spheres of material production. The system will include a model of the economy as a whole, as well as highly outfitted models of the fuel and energy, mineral and raw materials, agroindustrial, and machine-building complexes. The system will make it possible to form and analyze various alternates of the long-term socioeconomic development of the CEMA countries. It will become possible to study the economic strategies by taking into consideration the interrelationships both within the national-economic complexes and among them. The system will also make it possible to evaluate the investment-structure policy in the development of the basic spheres of material production, as correlated with the goals and tasks of long-term socioeconomic development. In particular, it is planned to evaluate the influence exerted by the development of the machine-building complex upon the effectiveness of the production fixed assets in the national economy.

Within the confines of the second areas, the activity of the collective at MNIIPU will be concentrated on research on the organization and mechanisms of administration of the economy. The central task here is the improvement of the economic mechanisms of the CEMA countries. In the current five-year plan it is proposed to carry out a target-problem analysis of the entire series of questions pertaining to the development and improvement of the economic mechanisms in those countries. Comparative research will be carried out from the point of view of the effect exerted by the economic mechanisms upon the resolution of the key problems that determine the effectiveness of the changeover of the economies in the socialist countries to the intensive type of social reproduction (progressive structural shifts in the economy; the acceleration of scientific-technical progress; the increase in labor productivity; the more effective use of production assets and raw and other materials; the improvement of the quality of output and its competitiveness on the foreign market).

It is planned to carry out the comprehensive study of the two inseparable principles of the socialist system of management -- the centralized management of the socialist economy, and the cost-accountable independence and responsibility of the associations and enterprises. As applicable to the level of centralized management, it is planned to analyze the experience of the CEMA countries with regard to improving the forms and methods of national-economic planning and guaranteeing its leading role in administering the socialist economy. The emphasis will be placed on developing recommendations for using economic contracts in the course of forming and implementing the national-economic plans.

Questions of developing the enterprises' cost-accountable independence will find expression in a number of scientific-analytic projects. It is proposed to generalize the experience of the CEMA countries in the area of the comprehensive improvement of the economic levers and incentives that are aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the use of labor, fixed assets, and raw and other materials, at accelerating the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and at improving the quality and competitiveness of the output on the world market. The generalizing materials will be supplemented by data concerning the rate of results of the effect exerted by the systems of economic levers and incentives upon the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, including the implementation of the assignments of the KP NTP SEV. The development of the topic will end with the preparation of composite analytical reports, with the exposition of the general tendencies and natural laws governing the development of systems of economic levers and incentives under conditions of the expansion of the enterprises' cost-accountable independence. The theoretical conclusions will become the basis for formulating practical recommendations for using the advanced experience in the area of material incentives.

The development of the general questions of improving the economic mechanisms will be organically supplemented by the research that reveals the mechanism for planning and administering scientific-technical progress. A considerable amount of attention will be devoted to methodological and applied problems of improving the national systems of planning scientific-technical progress. The



central place will be occupied by questions of converting scientific-technical programs into the pivot of national-economic planning. The results of the theoretical studies will form the basis of practical recommendations for intensifying the completeness and long-term orientation of planning activity; for correlating the two levels of strategic planning and program development for scientific-technical program -- on the national-economic level and on the scale of major economic-production organizations; and for improving the mechanisms for implementing the long-term planning goals.

Within the confines of this same topic it is planned to study the problems of improving the economic-organizational mechanism of administration (OEMU) of scientific-technical development. At the first stage it is proposed to carry out a comparative analysis of the individual structural elements of the OEMU (financing, economic incentives, pricing, cost-accounting relations, creation of introduction-oriented organizations and engineering centers). The results of the analysis will be submitted in the scientific analytical materials. Subsequently it is planned to prepare recommendations for improving the economic-organizational mechanism of the scientific-technical cooperation among the socialist countries under the conditions of the implementation and renovation of the content of the KP NTP SEV.

A considerable place in this section of the institute's plan is occupied by the topic of improving the organizational structures and methods of administering the economic-production organizations (PKhO). This is explained both by the determining role played by the basic links of the socialist economy in resolving the questions of the intensification of the national economy, and by the innovative nature and complexity of the administrative-organizational tasks arising at the new stage of the cooperation among the socialist countries after the adoption of the KP NTP SEV. Among the broad spectrum of questions that will have to be studied within the confines of this topic it is necessary to isolate the creation of the necessary economic-organizational conditions for the activity of the scientific and economic-production organizations participating in the implementation of the assignments of the Comprehensive Program. An important role will also be played here by the so-called lead organizations that are coordinating the development of the 95 problems included in the KP NTP SEV. The lead organizations bear the responsibility for the high scientific-technical level and quality of the work, for the fulfillment of the assignments within the established deadlines, and for the intensive development of cooperation. These complex functions require the special working out of the organizational and economic aspects of the activity of the lead organizations.

The institute collective has been assigned the task of formulating recommendations for developing organizational and production structures under conditions of the intensification of cooperative ties, the close interaction among all stages of the "science to technology to production to consumption" cycle, and the deepening of scientific-technical and economic integration. Special attention is being devoted to developing recommendations for using the experience in formulating "secondary" (contract) organizational structures (so-called associative-type structures). Such structures make it possible to establish flexible and varied ties with regard to a broad series of questions

(from the organizing of joint development to the joint sale of output and the providing of company services to its consumers).

The improvement of the activity of the lead organizations is also linked with the development of the economic method of administering the PKhO under conditions of the implementation of the KP NTP SEV. The institute specialists, on the basis of a study of the accumulated experience, will have to provide practical recommendations for developing the cost-accountable relations between the lead organizations and the coexecutor organizations; and for increasing the result rate of the economic levers and incentives for administering the PKhO both within the confines of the individual country and on the scale of the entire CEMA. The international aspects of the activity of the economic organizations will be considered in works devoted to the development of direct production ties and to the creation of international scientific-production associations (MNPO). These questions will also be studied from the point of view of guaranteeing the necessary conditions for the effective carrying out of the KP NTP SEV. In this area the institute already has a definite scientific-practical backlog. Suffice it to state that the MNIIPU took part in preparing the recommendations for creating two Soviet-Bulgarian scientific laboratories. Similar work is being carried out for a number of other cooperative projects. The experience obtained will make it possible during the current five-year plan to provide scientifically substantiated practical recommendations for organizing and administering the activity of the MNPO, including the principles of selecting efficient administrative structures, the organization of cost accountability, the formation of a statutory fund, the formation and distribution of profit, the procedure for making reciprocal settlements between partners, etc.

The third area in the five-year plan for MNIIPU provides for research on the role and place of man in administration and is a comparatively new one for the collective. The importance of this research is determined by the key role of the human factor in the intensification of the national economy. Questions of material and psychological motivation for highly productive and high-quality labor, the expansion of the workers' participation in the administration of production, and the rapid reaction by the labor collectives and economic managers to the changing management conditions under the influence of scientific-technical progress constitute the field of research. All these questions will be viewed through the prism of the practical activity of the economic managers, whose organizing work determines, to a considerable degree, the successful resolution of the new tasks.

The efforts of the MNIIPU specialists will be concentrated on problems of training managers and providing their refresher training in conformity with the requirements made on the quality of administration. In the course of research, it is planned to ascertain the underlying laws and tendencies in the change of the content of the labor performed by economic managers, which laws and tendencies are influenced by the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and to determine the ways to improve the organization of the administration of the economy. The practical proposals will be oriented toward improving the content and forms of instruction for economic managers at the stage of the intensification of social production. The new conditions for economic activity require the production managers to know present-day methods

of analyzing the socioeconomic problem situations. It is the task of scientists to support the practical specialists by providing effective means of modern diagnostics and of resolving such situations.

Within the confines of the fourth area in the plan it is proposed to study questions of increasing the effectiveness of systems of administration on the basis of the use of informational technological schemes and the development of flexible production systems (GPS). The choice of these areas is influenced by the fact that they constitute the basis of two priority programs in the KP NTP SEV -- the electronization of the national economy and the comprehensive automation of production.

The attention to informational technological schemes is also explained by the fact that the effectiveness of administration (the making of decisions at all its levels) depends more and more upon the reliability and the promptness of receiving and processing considerable volumes of information. By informational technological schemes one understands the means and methods of collecting, processing, storing, transmitting, and effectively using information. The process of modern computer technology (including algorithmic and program software), as the basis of informational technological schemes, determined its rapid development in recent years.

Research within the confines of the fourth area poses as its goal the generalization of the advanced experience acquired by the CEMA countries in the application of informational technological schemes, and the development of the concept of their development as an important methodological component of the program for the electronization of the national economy. The preparation of the analytical materials dealing with the vitally important questions in the development and application of informational technological schemes, and the development of recommendations for using them in the national economy, must become the results of the research. It is also planned to carry out regularly the evaluation of the rate of implementation of the electronization program.

In present-day production an increasingly large role is played by GPS. With their aid there has been an increase in the economic effectiveness of production as a result of the reduction of the periods of time, and the reduction of the cost of developing and manufacturing the articles, with the simultaneous expansion of their products list. Flexible production systems make it possible to use the equipment, materials, and production areas more efficiently. The generalization of the worldwide experience and the ascertaining of the tendencies in the further development of the GPS constitute the goal that the researchers set for themselves. In addition, they will develop a methodology for predesign modeling in order to determine the tasks, the production structure, and economic effectiveness of the GPS. The results of the planned research will be beneficial for the system developers and for organizations that plan and define the policy in the area of automating the basic spheres of the national economy.

The implementation of the new MNIIPU five-year plan will require considerable shifts in organizational and cadre work. Decisive importance will be attached to the orientation toward specific customers, the taking into consideration of

their wants and needs, and the close interaction with them at all stages of topic development. MNIIPU will continue the development of business contacts with CEMA agencies -- the Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation, a number of permanent commissions, and the Council Secretariat -- and also with the national planning departments, committees, and ministries dealing with science and technology. But the chief thing today is not so much the expansion of contacts as it is the supplementing of them with specific content, the providing of them with a long-term creative nature.

MNIIPU cooperates with a considerable number (more than 150) national and international scientific organizations. Efficient and mutually advantageous relations have been established with many of them on a permanent basis. One can mention such organizations as the Institute for Social Administration, under the BKP [Bulgarian CP] Central Committee; the Systems Analysis Bureau (Hungary); the Academy of Social Sciences, under the SEPG [East German CP] Central Committee; the Higher Institute of Administration of the Economy (Cuba); Mongolian State University; the Institute of Organization of Administration and Refresher Training for Managerial Cadres (Poland); the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Systems Research (USSR); the Institute of Administration (Czechoslovakia), as well as the International Institute for Economic Problems of the Worldwide Socialist System, the International Scientific-Technical Information Center, etc.

In organizing the joint work of the scientists in the socialist countries, greater and greater importance is attached to flexible forms of uniting their efforts. First of all this is the creation of temporary scientific collectives and working groups with a target orientation on the resolution of specific tasks. MNIIPU laboratories in the socialist countries are becoming a new form for integrating the scientific potential. The first such laboratory has been functioning since 1985 in Bulgaria. The preparatory work of creating a laboratory in Mongolia is coming to an end. Making these laboratories an effective channel for obtaining and disseminating the advanced experience of the fraternal countries is one of the most important tasks in the current five-year period.

Raising the level of research, and the innovational nature of the tasks to be resolved, require a considerable improvement in the work with scientific cadres. The careful selection of highly skilled specialists from the partner countries, a well thought-out strategy for staffing the institute, and the effective use of the scientific potential constitute the chief areas in cadre work.

The present five-year plan must become the five-year plan of the institute's creative maturity. This presupposes an increase in the requirements on the results of its activity, and the precise and consistent orientation of the international collective of MNIIPU on the resolution of the most important, most critical problems of administering socialist social production.

#### Role of International Consultations

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 5, 1986 (signed to press 11 Aug 86) pp 188-193

[Article by V. Gaskov, candidate of economic sciences, MNIIPU: "Administrative Consultation"]

[Text] Scientific consultation in the area of economic administration is a promising form for contact between science and practical life, for exchanging

advanced organizational experience both on a national and an international scale. The preparation and implementation of organizational plans for new enterprises, the rendering of consultative services pertaining to administration, represents a new type of foreign-economic activity, a type that does not require any material resources and is not limited to production capacities, but which at the same time is an intensive factor for the growth of the economy.

Consultation has already become somewhat widespread in the CEMA countries. In the Soviet Union the pioneers in this area of activity have been the Estonian specialists, who held a number of seminars jointly with Finnish consultative companies. The first Soviet published items dealing with consultation problems have appeared (Footnote 1) (See, for example, A. Prigozhin, S. Khaynish, "Administrative Consultation -- Growth and Prospects," PROBLEMY TEORII I PRAKTIKI UPRAVLENIYA, No 2, 1983).

As worldwide practice demonstrates, the higher the rates of scientific-technical development in a country, the more important a role consultants play in the life of that country. Thus, the indicator "rate of provision with consultants" for Japan is the highest -- one consultant per 2500 inhabitants; then come the United States, one per 4500 inhabitants, and Western Europe, one per 12,500 inhabitants (Footnote 2) (SLUZHBA NOVOVVEDENIY. NTR. PROBLEMY I RESHENIYA, No 3 (18), 1986).

Today, when the CEMA countries have taken a course aimed at the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, consultative activity is taking on a new, powerful impetus in its development. However, the broad use of this new factor of intensification requires definite conditions, in the creation of which, in our opinion, a substantial contribution can also be made by social scientists.

The fact of the matter is that any kind of administrative consultation, even when one is talking about technical-organizational, comparatively specific questions (for example, the improvement of the filing system) is basically a social or sociopsychological process. By no means every scientific worker is capable of working as a consultant, inasmuch as the production organization represents "another dimension." A very great deal depends upon the social competency of the consultant -- his ability to make contacts, to achieve the proper attitude on the part of the members of the collective, and to initiate their desire to work jointly to locate and resolve problems. Without that competency, the information that has been collected will be incomplete, if not distorted, the proposals for resolving the problems will not be worked out, and there will prove to be more opponents to them in the organization than there are adherents.

The currently prevalent opinion that the consultant "comes, analyzes, and gives an exhaustive recommendation" is untrue. He has to carry out a considerably more complex function. He acts as a kind of "catalyst" that makes it possible for the organization to mobilize its own creative resources to implement the innovations. Thus, the results of the consultant's activities must be not only the improvement in the administration of the enterprise, but also a definite change in the collective members' awareness, the elimination of obsolete stereotypes, and, finally, the orientation toward the independent analysis of internal reserves. A conscientious and skilled consultant, as he completes work in the organization, leaves behind a group of people who think the same way, who are implementing jointly the recommendations that have been developed.

Under present-day conditions there has been an increase in the role of social innovations that have the goal of increasing the influence of the human factor in social production. The introduction of such innovations presupposes the training, directly from among the social scientists, specialists with a new area of specialization, for example, consultant sociologists.

The importance of the consultant's social competency is especially great when his activities are linked with the international exchange of experience. We have in mind the administrative consultations for national production organizations in certain countries with the participation of specialists from other countries, as well as the international consultation for projects involving multilateral and bilateral business cooperation.

A definite amount of experience in this kind of consultation has been accumulated at the International Scientific-Research Institute for Problems of Management of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (MNIIPU). In particular, MNIIPU specialists carried out consultative work at furniture combines in East Germany when they were developing their production structure under conditions of consolidation of the enterprises and the changeover to the principle of administration on the part of the leading enterprise. Jointly with the consultants from the Higher Economics Institute imeni K. Marx (Sofia) and Bulgarian experts on problems of transport, MNIIPU specialists resolved a long-term task of defining the policy for development of consolidated links in the Bulgarian transportation complex. Recommendations in which special attention was devoted to the development of container shipments in Bulgaria were prepared and introduced.

In the course of international consultation, as has been indicated by the experience of MNIIPU, diagnostic analysis (its methods and the results), and the argumentation of the proposed recommendations, must take into complete consideration the specifics of the economic mechanism of the particular country. It is necessary to understand the economic-organizational and legal conditions and the territorial environment in which the enterprise operates. It is no less important to know the social and cultural peculiarities of its workers -- the stereotypes of organizational behavior and administrative activity which are accepted in the country; the value orientations; the norms and motivations of labor activity; etc.

Fruitful consultative activity in another country is impossible without involving in it the local specialists, the so-called "contact consultants." They actively use the methods and recommendations of the foreign consultant, fulfilling the function of a kind of "filter" with respect to the recommendations being formulated.

It is extremely complicated to organize administrative consultations of joint economic-production organizations and other projects of international economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Diagnostic analysis of the problems that arise and, most important, the proposed recommendations must simultaneously satisfy the interests of all the partners.

A fundamental principle here is the principle of the equality of the cooperating partners. This influences, first of all, the mandatory participation in the consultative sessions of specialists in the field of administration from all the countries participating in the project. Secondly, it is necessary to analyze the problems of cooperation, as well as the opinions and positions of all groups of partners. Thirdly, from among the proposals being developed jointly by the consultants, one should propose for introduction only those which conform to the interests of all the partners in the business cooperation. Consultants from the cooperating countries must participate in all phases of the work (the diagnostic analysis of the problems of interaction among the partners; the planning of the necessary changes; the carrying out of administrative-organizational restructurings). Thus, international consultation in the CEMA countries acts as a specific link in the overall mechanism of coordination the national interests of the cooperating countries.

Another important principle in this kind of consultation is the limitation of the sphere of the problems to be jointly analyzed only to those which are directly linked with the content of international economic and scientific-technical cooperation. That means, for example, that if certain problems of interaction among the partners have been caused by peculiarities of the national organizational structure of administration in an importer country, the development of recommendations to improve it, as a rule, is carried out by consultants from that country.

When carrying out consultative sessions for integrational objects in the European countries, the basic problems are the ones of analyzing and coordinating their specific economic interests with respect to those objects, and guaranteeing the high quality of the organizational structure of administration of the cooperation. Thus, at several industrial objects being constructed in Hungary and Czechoslovakia with Soviet technical cooperation, the international group of consultants carried out a diagnostic analysis of the interaction among the national groups of construction workers. They defined and refined the differences among the partners in the concepts of carrying out complicated operations to activate the project smoothly, as well as the peculiarities in their approaches to construction-planning documentation and the demands on the quality of individual types of equipment to be delivered. These differences and peculiarities, to a definite degree, had been hindering the mutual understanding among the partners at the construction site and had been impeding the rate of operations. The

international group of consultants revealed shortcomings in the organizational structure of administration of the interaction among the partners, which structure was excessively centralized and formalized, and which therefore failed to guarantee the timely exchange of information and decision-making at all levels of interaction -- from brigades of workers from the importer country and the foreign technical consultants, to the construction-site staff and the head of the supplier's consultant group.

The work of the international consultants group made it possible to increase the amount of exchange among the partners of the specific information pertaining to the differences in their points of view with respect to problems of cooperation, and their possible causes and methods of overcoming them. The special status of the group members -- "independent consultants" -- allowed them to raise openly complicated and sometimes delicate questions of cooperation and thus to resolve them considerably faster.

Specific problems are the problems of the business cooperation among national organizations from the European and non-European CEMA countries. The chief factor here is the identification and mobilization of the social and organizational factors for the accelerated transmittal of the advanced experience of socialist management. It is also necessary to take as complete consideration as possible of the substantial differences that are identified during the process of the joint work performed by the workers in these two groups of countries -- differences in the traditional stereotypes of the production behavior, attitudes toward labor, and the national cultural and psychological features.

For example, at one of the joint Mongolian-Soviet production enterprises, two types of production brigades were organized -- single-nationality and international ones. In the brigades of the former type, consisting of workers from a European CEMA country, the traditional administrative mechanism is self-government on the basis of competitiveness and the differentiation of the pay and remuneration rates for the brigade members. This is achieved with the aid of a labor participation coefficient (KTU) which is established by the brigade council. At the same time, in the single-nationality brigades made up of workers from the non-European partner country, which also have been successfully coping with the planning assignments, competitiveness is not generally accepted. The members of those brigades are not eager to differ among amounts of remuneration and usually establish an equal KTU for everyone. In order to increase the effectiveness of the organization of administration of the international brigades, it was necessary to develop a series of measures. They are aimed at fitting together the different national cultures of administration, at defining the mutual acceptability of that fit for the workers from the partner countries, and at explaining the importance of providing differentiated incentives for labor when carrying out definite technological operations.

In the light of the accumulated experience it is extremely promising, in order to accelerate the economic development of the non-European CEMA countries, to develop organizational plans for administration for the new enterprises to be constructed there, including the introduction of those plans in a mode of administrative consultation. Such plans must contain a description of various



subsystems of production experience, including its economic, administrative-organizational, and cadre aspects. The comprehensive approach to the transmittal of production experience will make it possible to accelerate the resolution of the problems of training administrative cadres and raising their proficiency level, and to take more complete consideration of the economic-organizational and social-cultural conditions of the economic cooperation. Obviously, the development and introduction of organizational plans will require the carrying out of detailed comparative research on the economic-organizational conditions of functioning of the specific production enterprises in the exporter and importer countries, as well as the national cultures of administration and the peculiarities of the production behavior of the workers in those countries.

What must be done in order to make wider use of administrative consultation?

First, it is very important, in our opinion, to overcome the technistic tendencies that continue to prevail among a definite number of economic managers, to stamp out obsolete psychological stereotypes. For example, it seems to individual economic managers that the use of consultative services pertaining to administration indicates, to a certain degree, their personal incompetency in that area. (But at the same time no one will consider it strange, for example, to involve a specialist from the outside in order to provide assistance in installing a new automatic line or production robots.)

The next problem is the training of cadres of professional administrative consultants (creation of a training and methodology base; organization of special courses; certification), and the adjustment of the mechanism for using them. Obviously, it would be beneficial to have broad international exchange of experience in this area.

Finally, one senses an acute shortage of scientific developments in the sphere of administrative consultation, especially international. The methodological recommendations for specialists carrying out consultative work in another country must be formulated on the basis of the comparative research of the most varied aspects of the life of the labor collectives in the partner countries -- economic, legal, social-cultural, social-psychological, and other aspects. It must be hoped that the scope of such research will expand, including the research within the confines of the scientific cooperation among the social scientists of the CEMA countries.

In conclusion we would like to re-emphasize that consultation in the area of economic administration is not a narrow problem that affects only a limited number of specialists. The successful development of consultative activity is impossible without the corresponding scientific support, including the broadest involvement of the methods and data provided by the total series of social sciences.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL BANKING COUNCIL MEETS--The 65th session of the Council of the International Bank of Economic Cooperation was held in Moscow. The following delegations of countries which are bank members participated in it: People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, GDR, Cuba, Mongolian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Romania, USSR, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as well as representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and the International Investment Bank. The session reviewed questions of the further improvement of the bank's activity in the light of the tasks of expanding and extending economic integration facing member countries. The council session took place in an atmosphere of full mutual understanding and business-like cooperation. [Text] [Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, Jan 87 p 20]

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### JIMMY CARTER'S BOOK ON MIDDLE EASTERN QUESTION REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) p 63

[Review by P. Raynov of book "The Blood of Abraham" by J. E. Carter, Boston, 1985, 275 pages: "Nostalgia for Camp David"]

[Text] "The Blood of Abraham," a book by former President of the United States J. Carter, discusses the problems of Middle East settlement and is interesting because it was written by one of the initiators of the Camp David strategy of establishing the American-Israeli brand of peace in the Middle East and because it reveals a prominent political figure's ideas about the prospects of this strategy.

Analyzing the positions of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the author writes with anxiety about the situation in the region at the beginning of the 1980's. He admits the heightened tension and instability there, the new seats of conflict and the failure to solve the Palestinian problem.

It is true that the policy of separate bargains impeded the search for a truly just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, including the search for solutions to the Palestinian problem. It gave Israel the "green light" for its aggression in Lebanon in June 1982 and helped to intensify contradictions in the Arab world and exacerbate many internal conflicts in the region.

Carter's thoughts, however, lead him in another direction. He suggests a return to Camp David, with only slight revisions. What kind of updating does he propose?

First of all, Carter recommends that the elements of the EEC's Venice declaration on the Middle East, the "Fahd Plan," the "Reagan Plan" and the declarations of the inter-Arab summit meeting in Fez in 1982 which do not contradict Camp David be taken into account in the new phase of the "peace-making process" (p 198).

Secondly, the author suggests the "reordering" of priorities. Whereas the purpose of the "classic" Camp David settlement was a separate Egyptian-Israeli

"peace treaty," now the author wants to restore the "cardinal significance" of the Palestinian problem in the entire process of Mideast settlement. (pp 107-130 and so on). Carter stipulates restoration because he seriously believes that the Camp David agreements envisaged the "resolution" of the Palestinian problem through Palestinian "self-determination" (the notorious "autonomy"), but the "expansionist policy of building settlements" and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon prevented this, and Camp David was reduced to an Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty (pp 3, 14, 197, 198 and so on).

Thirdly, the resolution of the Palestinian problem, according to Carter, should not only improve Egyptian-Israeli relations, which were spoiled by Israel's "inflexible" (or, more precisely, aggressive) policy, but also gradually change the separate nature of the Camp David agreements through the "inclusion" of Jordan with the "tacit consent" of Saudi Arabia (pp 131-152, 200 and so on).

Fourthly, in the aftermath of the events in Lebanon and with a view to the tremendous "costs" of American intervention in this country, Carter suggests a "parallel" settlement of the Lebanese conflict and "resolution" of the Palestinian issue. The basis of this settlement would consist in the "withdrawal of all foreign troops" from Lebanon--that is, the Israeli aggressors and the Syrians and Palestinians who resisted them (pp 85-106, 206-207 and so on). It is obvious that this kind of solution would benefit the United States and Israel.

Finally, passing wishes off as a real possibility, Carter suggests that Syria be "invited" to the negotiating table for the "final settlement." In view of his previous statements, this strongly resembles an order issued to Damascus and is clearly inconsistent with the author's comments about the need to give Syrian "security interests" careful consideration (pp 200, 206).

The author discusses the key problem in the Middle East, the Palestinian question, at great length. "There can be no successful talks on lasting peace until the Palestinians are party to them. American officials acknowledge this fact even when they refuse to recognize the PLO or to negotiate with it directly.... Nevertheless, the recognition of this fact has not led to any serious attempts to solve the problem" (pp 218-219). Carter's suggestions do not lead to this either. The author proposes the old "Jordanian option," envisaging the retention of Israeli military and political rule in occupied Palestinian territories, with the establishment of formal relations within the framework of a "federation" or "confederation" between them and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The role of the chief representative of the Palestinians in negotiations is still being assigned, although with reservations, to Jordan instead of the PLO (pp 199-200). It is a well-known fact that this kind of Palestinian "self-determination," particularly the idea of a "confederation" with Jordan, was vehemently rejected by most of the organizations of the Palestine Resistance Movement.

Therefore, Carter's talk about the need for a comprehensive peace agreement in the Middle East, his abstract wishes of "freedom of prosperity" for the people of this region and his appeals for the defense of human rights and

for a struggle against "terrorism" resemble a frank apology and excuse for the Camp David policy of separate bargains. Permeated with obvious "nostalgia" for Camp David, Carter's recommendations essentially stipulate the need to continue the Camp David process in all of its main aspects (the number and sequence of items of negotiation, the negotiating parties and the negotiating procedure). The contents of this book are wholly aimed at securing the United States the role of an "arbiter" in the new direct talks Carter recommends for Israel and the Arab countries on a separate basis. As past events in the Middle East have demonstrated, however, separate bargains cannot bring the "land of Abraham" genuine and just peace. It can only be the result of conscientious concerted efforts by all of the parties concerned.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### LIBERATION MOVEMENT'S COURSE 'CONFIRMS LENIN'S PRECEPTS'

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 2-5

[Article by V. Trubnikov, candidate of philosophy, and M. Yasakova, candidate of historical sciences: "History Confirms Lenin's Precepts"]

[Excerpts] There is no question that one of the most significant international results of the triumph of October was the crisis of the colonial system, which turned out to be the weakest structure in the worldwide network of imperialist exploitation and which did not take long to collapse. The revolution in Russia woke up the East and provided strong momentum for the growth of the national consciousness of people in the colonies and semi-colonies. The Soviet state of workers and peasants and true socialism became a revolutionizing factor with a permanent effect on the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The artfully built dam for the colonial enslavement of people, which had taken centuries to build, suddenly sprung dangerous leaks and was on the verge of collapse.

In which direction would the irrepressible anticolonial current flow? Where would the hundreds of millions of "yellows" and "blacks" vent their centuries-old anger and pain after the walls of the colonial dungeons would be swept away in the already foreseeable future? Many bourgeois ideologists and propagandists frightened the inhabitants of the "civilized" countries of Europe and America with a new Hun invasion. They were echoed by the social reformists, who insisted that the colonial and semicolonial peoples had to "be steeped in the cauldron of capitalism" before they would be ready for national freedom and "sterile-pure revolution." Ultra-leftwing petty bourgeois ideologists, on the other hand, regarded the budding national liberation movements in the East as new "messiahs," which were supposedly the only thing that could save proletarian socialism in Europe, and often used Marxist terminology to camouflage their true aims.

### The Strength of Lenin's Predictions

Today, after decades of great events, all of these demagogic and panic-stricken or rash and desperate predictions about the future of world history and the role of the peoples of the capitalist world's colonial periphery in it seem laughable, naive and even pitiful to us, the descendants and heirs of



the revolutionaries of Lenin's time. (But this is today, whereas then they seemed full of "learned wisdom" to many.)

Today it is impossible--we will not be afraid to use lofty words in this case--to not feel a sense of thrilling amazement when we consider the precise equations of Lenin's faultlessly balanced predictions with regard to the entire era ushered in by October and historical processes separated from his time not by years, but by many decades. These predictions were multifaceted and multileveled and covered all of the "rooms" and "floors" of the building of social existence, but we will concentrate on his assessment of the role and place of the national liberation movement in the revolutionary renovation of the world.

Here are these astounding predictions.

The scales and nature of the world revolutionary process: "Social revolution cannot take any form other than an era uniting the civil war of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and an entire series of democratic and revolutionary, including national liberation, movements in underdeveloped, backward and oppressed nations."<sup>2</sup>

The triumph of the proletariat initially in the weakest link of the imperialist system: "Socialism cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries. It will triumph first in one country or a few countries, and the rest will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time."<sup>3</sup>

The impact of Great October on the colonial and semicolonial countries and peoples: "For the first time the majority of the population will form an independent movement and will be an active factor in the struggle for the overthrow of international imperialism."<sup>4</sup>

Prospects for the development of the national liberation movement: "In the coming deciding battles of the world revolution, the movement representing the majority of the world's population, with national liberation as its initial aim, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."<sup>5</sup>

The nature alliance of true socialism with the national liberation movement: "Now our Soviet republic must rally all of the awakening people of the East round itself and fight along with them against international imperialism."<sup>6</sup> The struggle of the latter for national liberation can be successful "only if it is connected directly with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet republic."<sup>7</sup> Finally, here is one more of Lenin's ideas: "We will make every effort to converge and merge with the Mongols, Persians, Indians and Egyptians; we feel that this is our duty and it is in our interest because, otherwise, socialism in Europe will not be strong."<sup>8</sup>

#### Alliance with World Socialism

History has shown us how right Lenin was to insist that the people of the East could win national liberation only in an alliance with world socialism and that its growing physical and economic strength and international

influence would cause the budding crisis of the colonial empires to culminate in their complete disintegration. It is a fact that the creation of the world socialist system as a result of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War against the shock forces of imperialism--fascist Germany and militarist Japan--established the necessary conditions for the collapse of imperialism's colonial system under the increasingly strong blows of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions. This system essentially ceased to exist at the beginning of the 1960's. The last colonial empire--Portugal's possessions in Africa--was eliminated in the middle of the 1970's. Whereas colonies and dependent countries accounted for 69.4 percent of the world's population in 1919, the figure was under 0.3 percent by the middle of the 1980's. More than 100 young sovereign states have come into being in the postwar period and are inhabited by more than half of the population of our planet. These states which were once objects of imperialist policy with no rights of their own are now making history on their own. The increasing strength of world socialism and the increasing number of young independent states, especially in Asia and Africa, have changed the international balance of power in favor of socialism and of national and social liberation.

Just as Lenin predicted, the vanguards of the national liberation movement gradually made the transition from the stage of anti-imperialist struggle to the stage of struggle against capitalism, from the aim of national liberation to the aim of social liberation, using different methods and proceeding at different speeds, depending on the level of socioeconomic development in their countries, the internal balance of class power and the international situation. Soon after World War II, the struggle against foreign oppression in some Asian countries grew into victorious socialist revolutions (Vietnam, North Korea and China). Later, many other emerging Asian and African countries also rejected capitalism and chose a non-capitalist course of development, hoping to build a socialist society in the future under the leadership of revolutionary democratic forces. The number of such states is rising constantly. At the beginning of the 1980's the socialist-oriented states occupied a territory of 12 million square kilometers and had a population of around 150 million. As the new edition of the CPSU Program stresses, "their chosen course corresponds to the genuine interests and wishes of the masses, reflects their desire for a just social order and coincides with the mainstream of historical development."<sup>9</sup>

Lenin was also right when he said that world socialism would give the people who had thrown off the colonial yoke as much assistance as possible in economic and cultural construction, the training of national personnel, the augmentation of defensive capabilities and so forth. This assistance is an important part of the foreign policy of socialist states in relations with developing Asian, African and Latin American countries. By the middle of the 1980's, Soviet assistance alone had been instrumental in the construction of 1,860 industrial enterprises and the training of 1.6 million specialists of varying qualifications in many fields of science, technology and culture there. At the present time, 40 percent of the cast iron and 30 percent of the steel in Asia and Africa are smelted at enterprises built with Soviet assistance.

The internationalist support of forces for national liberation by world socialism has never been a matter of "class philanthropy." This has been, is and will be the natural policy of the socialist community, pursued to defend the vital interests of mankind's social progress, to bolster the economically underdeveloped countries and peoples and to stimulate the entire world revolutionary process. "The Soviet Union has always supported people fighting for liberation from colonial oppression," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev said at the March (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "Today we are still taking the side of the Asian, African and Latin American countries striving for stronger independence and social renovation. We regard them as our friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace and for better, just relations between peoples."<sup>10</sup>

### New Phase of Struggle

The ideas of Great October and Lenin's predictions about world development shed light on the heroic history of the last seven decades and on the present situation in the zone of the national liberation struggle. Events here are developing in the direction Lenin predicted, but the twists and turns of contemporary history can be analyzed correctly and assessed when consideration is given to the qualitatively new factors and features engendered by the particular phase of development the entire world, including the Eastern countries, is undergoing today. According to a statement made at the 27th CPSU Congress, "changes in world development today are so profound and significant that they demand the reassessment and comprehensive analysis of all factors."<sup>11</sup>

The new deep-seated conflict is even more dramatic in our age of dynamic technological revolution, which is giving each nation a potential opportunity for the unprecedented and colossal augmentation of material and spiritual wealth. "As far as the developing countries are concerned," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress says, "the technological revolution raises a pertinent question: Are they destined to make full use of the achievements of science and technology and thereby acquire strength in the struggle against neocolonialism and imperialist exploitation, or will they remain on the periphery of world development?"<sup>12</sup> The dilemma is compounded when historical circumstances cause a country to choose the capitalist road.

The leaders of even these young states, however, are gradually freeing themselves from illusions and realizing that they cannot expect to bring about the socioeconomic and cultural rise of their people with the support of the capitalist world, where uneven economic and political development is the rule and where the strong grow rich at the expense of the weak. After all, it is no secret that the imperialist system is still making its living largely by mercilessly robbing the developing countries, and that it is largely with the aid of the resources pumped out of these countries that monopolist capital is producing more and more mountains of weapons and is conducting a policy of social manipulation, using high wages to buy the allegiance of some strata of the laboring public in the leading bourgeois states.

The change in the content of the conflict between imperialism and the people of the developing countries was accompanied by a change in the methods of robbing them. The extra-economic exploitation characteristic of the colonial period has been replaced by subtle economic methods of pumping the wealth out of these countries, primarily through transnational corporations and a diversified system of usurious loans and credit.

#### Imperatives of October

World socialism's friendly relations with anti-imperialist, progressive political forces in Asia, Africa and Latin America have acquired qualitatively new features. Whereas the socialist countries' partners and allies a comparatively short time ago--before World War II and in the first postwar years--were the liberation movements fighting for the independence of their people, now that the colonial system has been almost completely eliminated world socialism is acting on the Leninist principles of the natural alliance with the people of the emerging countries on a qualitatively new level--the state level. This is a higher and more effective form of alliance, but it is also more complex.

This stronger alliance on an intergovernmental basis is one of the main reasons why imperialism's attempts to enslave the Afro-Asian countries once again with the aid of the policy of "neoglobalism" and to prevent further progressive reforms in this region are suffering one failure after another. "Sooner or later, even here capitalism will have to choose between power politics and shameless robbery or the possibility of cooperation on a fair basis"<sup>13</sup>--this was the scientifically sound prediction of the 27th congress of Lenin's party with regard to the not so distant future.

The imperatives engendered by Great October with regard to the joint struggle of true socialism and the people exploited by international imperialism have not only retained all of their validity, but have also been enriched by new imperatives engendered by the technological revolution and the mounting threat of global thermonuclear catastrophe. The common needs and interests which have come into being in the nuclear-space age have stepped up the consolidation of the coalition of peoples in the socialist and developing countries who are acting in conjunction with the labor movement and mass democratic peace movements in developed capitalist states for the survival of humanity and social progress.

Keeping the peace today is an integral part of the cause of national and social liberation. We could say that social progress has become the second dimension of the objective of keeping the peace and vice versa. Freeing humanity from oppression and exploitation is impossible today without the prevention of a global thermonuclear war which would lead only to the mutual annihilation of antagonistic classes.

The main conflict of the present era, which was engendered by the very fact of socialism's birth 69 years ago, is as ineradicable as all other social antagonisms in the world. In the nuclear age, however, they can and must be resolved with a view to the catastrophic power of weapons of mass destruction.

History has left the confrontation between socialism and capitalism no other choice today than the peaceful competition of economies and ways of life. Representatives of monopolist capital will quickly realize this when the forces for peace, whose potential is growing, display more cohesion and more energy.

The future of humanity and the ability of the developing countries to strengthen their freedom and independence and to wage a successful struggle against poverty and underdevelopment now depend largely on the solidity, strength and dynamism of world socialism and, above all, its nucleus--the socialist community. The current distinctive phase of historical development has raised another question for the first time: Securing the social progress of humanity and consolidating world peace have ceased to be separate and independent objectives and have become one dual goal. This has assigned socialism, representing the vanguard of the progressive and peaceful forces opposing imperialism, a special responsibility and has required it to mobilize all forces for the stepped-up development of its own socioeconomic potential. "The attainment of the goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress," stressed Secretary General K. Silva of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, "will indisputably allow socialism to surpass capitalism in all of the main areas of human endeavor and will bring about a decisive change in the international balance of power in favor of social progress. Each step in this direction will give the world revolutionary process new strength and new momentum."

Lenin's theory of socialist revolution and his ideas about the nature, content and driving forces of the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, under the banner of which the Bolshevik Party and the laboring masses of Russia marched out to defeat tsarism and capitalism by storm, are the object of a new and more thorough perusal today. It is revealing new aspects of Lenin's brilliant ideas about the present era, ideas requiring further interpretation and amplification, including ideas about the role of the Asians, Africans and Latin Americans in international politics. The developing countries, just as the socialist states, have a vital interest in stopping the arms race, which would free huge sums for the social and economic development of all peoples wanting to curb imperialism's increasing aggressiveness.

It is understandable that the people of the emerging countries heartily approved of the Soviet peace initiatives set forth in M. S. Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and on Soviet television, especially the decision to extend the moratorium on nuclear tests to 1 January 1987.

Anti-imperialist forces for national liberation are incomparably more organized and more capable today. They are now at the helm of government in the majority of developing countries and are taking united action to defend their interests in international--regional, continental and global--associations.

Socioeconomic, political and ideological changes in the developing world testify that the irreversible historical process begun by Great October is still developing consistently. We are witnessing, as M. S. Gorbachev stressed, referring to more than just Asia, in his speech in Vladivostok on 28 July 1986, "another renaissance in world history, which contains colossal potential for progress."

#### FOOTNOTES

2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 112.
3. Ibid., p 133.
4. Ibid., vol 39, p 328.
5. Ibid., vol 44, p 38.
6. Ibid., vol 39, p 329.
7. Ibid., p 318.
8. Ibid., vol 30, p 120.
9. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 136.
10. PRAVDA, 12 March 1985.
11. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," p 4.
12. Ibid., p 10.
13. Ibid., p 18.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### UNESCO'S ROLE IN 'FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION' DISCUSSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 12-14

[Article by Professor Ya. Zasurskiy, vice president of the International Association for Information Studies: "UNESCO and Information Issues"]

[Text] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a specialized UN agency, turned 40 on 4 November 1986. One of the most important aspects of the UNESCO program is activity in the sphere of information.

Famous American poet Archibald MacLeish, one of the composers of the UNESCO charter, then declared: "Teaching people in the spirit of peace throughout the world is completely feasible." Developing this thought, he noted that UNESCO was established "to arrive at this kind of peace through the use of all channels of communication: education and science, press and radio, films and music, all forms of journalism and living, permanent art."

As the organization grew older and stronger, the Soviet Union, other socialist states and dozens of emerging countries spoke more persistently about the need to enhance the role of the mass media in the consolidation of peace and international understanding.

The Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation, adopted at the 14th Session of the UNESCO General Conference (1966), was quite significant in this context. The document stressed: "Cultural cooperation should reveal the ideas and values promoting an atmosphere of friendship and peace. This cooperation should preclude signs of hostility in relations and the exchange of opinions. In addition, it should aid in the provision and dissemination of reliable information" (Art 7, par 2). Here it is important to focus, first of all, on the clearly delineated connection between the dissemination of information and the creation of an atmosphere of friendship and peace and, secondly, on the mention of the quality of information (it must be reliable).

The declaration formulated a new approach to the mass media, corresponding completely to the spirit and letter of the UNESCO Charter, which was ignored or was given arbitrary interpretations in the 1950's by its secretariat and by Western representatives, who then had an automatic majority in the organization.

By the time this declaration was adopted, UNESCO had already carried out several important programs to study the state of communications in the world (they were published in the form of documents), and had taken action to promote the training of journalists, especially for the developing countries. Several international centers for a higher education in journalism were established under UNESCO auspices. Two of these centers--in Strasbourg (France) and Quito (Ecuador)--played an exceptionally important role. Representatives of the USSR spoke at virtually all of the sessions convened in Strasbourg two or three times a year to inform emissaries from the developing countries of the Soviet view on journalism and its mission in the world.

During the debates conducted by the Strasbourg center, delegates from socialist and developing countries pointedly criticized the idea of the "free flow of information." This criticism applied primarily to two points.

1. The "free flow of information" means the one-way penetration of developing countries by information from the United States and other Western states and it thereby helps the West in its ideological expansion, which is contrary to the UN and UNESCO charters, as these declare the sovereign equality of the members of these organizations.

2. The "free flow of information" ignores the quality and content of information, so that the countries liberated from colonial oppression are penetrated by Western concepts and ideas that are alien to the interests of their people, interfere in their economic and cultural development and damage their independence and uniqueness.

The discussion of the use of communication satellites for the development of education, science and culture at sessions of the UNESCO General Conference provided new momentum for even more pointed criticism of the "free flow" concept. During the debates on the Declaration of the Fundamental Principles Governing the Use of Satellite Broadcasts for the Free Dissemination of Information, the Development of Education and the Expansion of Cultural Exchanges, the socialist and developing countries stressed the need to respect national sovereignty in the sphere of information and culture.

This declaration quite definitely said that states have the right to guard their culture against infringements by the mass media. It stressed that satellite broadcasts to a country will require its preliminary consent.

Extremely significant differences of opinion were revealed during the discussion of the declaration. They were connected primarily with the United States' reluctance to acknowledge the rights and sovereignty of other nations in the sphere of information and culture. The approval of the declaration on the use of satellite communications in 1972 meant that the UNESCO members rejected the Western concept of the "free flow of information."

During that same period the socialist and developing countries were actively supporting the idea that the international exchange of information should promote international understanding. At the 16th Session of the UNESCO General Conference (1970), "The Distribution of Information and the Promotion of International Understanding," a resolution proposed by delegates from the



Belorussian SSR and several other states, was adopted. In this document UNESCO declared the impermissibility of using the mass media for the propaganda of war, racism and international hatred and requested members to take the necessary measures in this connection, including legislative acts. This resolution was also actively opposed by the United States, but it was approved by the majority in spite of this.

At the 17th Session of the UNESCO General Conference (1972), representatives from the USSR and Belorussian SSR, with the support of several delegations, submitted a draft resolution regarding a declaration on the principles governing the use of the mass media to strengthen peace and international understanding. The preparation of the declaration took 6 years and was accompanied by the most vehement arguments.

The declaration was not adopted at the 18th session (1974). An inter-governmental convention was held in Paris at the request of delegates in December 1975 to modify the text of the draft declaration. The United States and its closest allies refused to take part in this work and walked out of the conference room. The adoption of the declaration was again postponed at the 19th session in Nairobi (1976) under pressure from the Western countries. Stormy debates took place at the 20th session (1978). The United States and its partners had to agree to the adoption of the declaration by a consensus under the threat of failure during the vote.

There were vehement objections to the document in the Western bourgeois press. Perhaps the most indicative comment was in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "For Americans there can be no freedom of speech or 'balanced' information if those who advocate racism and apartheid, as well as war, are not also granted freedom of speech." The article in THE NEW YORK TIMES seemed to signal the beginning of an American campaign against UNESCO, culminating in the United States' withdrawal from the organization in December 1984.

An intergovernmental commission was established by UNESCO in 1977 to study communication issues. It was headed by Sean MacBride, holder of the International Lenin and Nobel peace prizes, and its members were representatives from Great Britain, India, Indonesia, Canada, Colombia, Mexico, Nigeria, the Netherlands, the USSR, the United States, France, Yugoslavia and Japan. The report prepared by the commission underscored the uneven development of communication and advised that young states be assisted in establishing national media. The report of the MacBride commission served as the basis for debates at the 21st UNESCO General Conference session in Belgrade (1980).

The very subtitle of the report--"For a New, More Just and More Effective International Information and Communication Order"--presupposed the existence of great inequality in the development of mass media. In essence, this document agrees with the concept of the new international information order, proposed in the 1970's by the developing countries.

Although the report contained conflicting assessments, reflecting the heterogeneous composition of the commission (the concept was formulated in the most principled manner in the report by prominent Tunisian public spokesman

Mustapha Masmoudi), the general content of the document was progressive in nature. It helped to establish the idea of a new international information order.

The General Conference adopted another important decision at the same session: An International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) was set up to assist in the establishment of national mass media in the developing countries.

In just over 5 years the IPDC has rendered practical assistance in many projects in the development of the press, radio, television and news agencies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It made a particularly significant contribution to the development of such regional news agencies and services as PANA in Africa, ASIN and ALASEI in Latin America, FANA in the Middle East and OANA in Asia.

All of these are positive development in UNESCO activity, which can only be applauded. On the other hand, in the last 40 years, especially in recent years, there was much that made the organization's performance of its noble and humanitarian mission quite difficult or even impossible.

"Capitalism gives people...the impoverishment of culture and the erosion of spiritual values created over centuries. Nothing elevates the individual more than knowledge," the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress says. "But it is probable that at no other time in its existence has mankind experienced as much fraud and deception as now. Bourgeois propaganda is inundating people throughout the world with artfully shuffled facts, is foisting itself on their minds and emotions and is programming the kind of civic and social views benefiting ruling forces. The specific type of knowledge, values and moral standards installed in public information and the educational system is primarily a political matter."\*

The obstructionist position of the United States, Great Britain and some other Western powers toward UNESCO provides a graphic example of imperialist policy in the sphere of culture. The United States' withdrawal from this organization at the end of 1984 reflected the current American leadership's tendency to revive the stereotypical politico-military thinking of the cold war years. This course is supported by social groups adhering to the great-power belief in "America's global mission." They are the ones who are disturbed by the persistent struggle of the overwhelming majority of UNESCO members for a new international order in the sphere of information and communication.

Washington is displeased with the basic premises and principles of this idea, such as the need for decolonization and democratization in the information sphere; the elimination of inequality in information exchange and trade; the acknowledgement of the role of the mass media in strengthening peace and

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\* "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 19.

international understanding, in upholding human rights and in combating racism and apartheid; the prohibition of the propaganda of war and international hatred; the emerging countries' creation of their own information systems and their effective participation in information exchange; the objectivity of information and responsibility for its content.

The United States' ostentatious move was condemned by the world community. A special session of the UNESCO Executive Board, called at the beginning of 1985 to discuss the situation in the organization after the U.S. withdrawal, and its regular session in summer of the same year showed that most of the members reject flagrant diktat and intend to continue jointly approved policies and activities. Many of them--India, France, Cuba, Mexico and others--declared their willingness to give UNESCO financial support in order to secure the completion of its main programs.

These countries also included the Soviet Union, which declared its support of UNESCO's constructive activity. Our country's position on this matter is unequivocal. "Reality itself dictates the preservation of culture and its protection from bourgeois degradation and vandalism," M. S. Gorbachev said when he presented the political report at the 27th CPSU Congress. "This is one of our most important general objectives. We must consider the long-term psychological and moral effects of imperialism's current practices in the sphere of culture."\*

The 40 years of UNESCO activity in the sphere of information have cogently revealed two policy lines. On the one hand, there is the line of the socialist states and the majority of developing countries, advocating international cooperation and the use of information in the interests of social progress and peace; on the other, there is the line of the United States and its allies, defending the interests of Western news and propaganda monopolies.

Ever since the Soviet Union joined UNESCO in 1954, it has consistently advocated the organization's promotion, in accordance with the spirit and letter of its charter, of the use of the mass media for the triumph of the ideals of peace and international cooperation.

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\* Ibid.

## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ARAB TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION MARKS 30TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 18-19

[Article by A. Notin, candidate of historical sciences: "In the Struggle for the Rights of Labor"]

[Text] The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (CATU) was founded in Damascus in March 1956. This event was a logical result of the labor and trade-union movement in the Arab East and of the need for coordinated struggle by Arab workers for the national independence of their countries and--to an increasing degree--for the choice of a progressive course of development.

During its 30 years of existence, the confederation has considerably expanded its zone of activity. Whereas only 7 labor organizations from 5 Arab countries were represented at the constituent congress of the CATU, its members now include 16 central labor organizations representing 4.5 million workers.\*

In addition to the national labor organizations, 10 sectorial trade-union federations belong to the CATU. The activities of the former and the latter are coordinated by six committees: organizational, legislative proposals, international relations, propaganda, social issues, and finance.

In accordance with the CATU charter and program, adopted at its first, constituent congress, the highest organ of the confederation is the All-Arab Congress of Trade Unions, convened once every 4 years (the next five CATU congresses were held in 1959, 1965, 1969, 1972 and 1976 in Cairo, the location of the CATU headquarters until 1978, and the seventh was held in 1979 in Damascus).

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\* Palestinian trade unions and labor organizations in Algeria, Jordan, Iraq, the YAR, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, the PDRY, Oman, Syria, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia. Djibouti and Bahrain have observer status in the CATU and also take part in its activities in this capacity.

Between congresses the activities of the organization are overseen by a central council (previously the executive council), the members of which, just as the secretary-general, are elected by the highest organ of the confederation.

The chief aims of the CATU, according to its program, are the following: to guarantee laborers better working conditions, eliminate unemployment and forced labor, and secure employment; to standardize labor legislation and organize vocational and technical training for workers; to defend democratic and trade-union freedoms; to promote industrialization and the development of the cooperative movement; to guarantee broad participation by labor in the sociopolitical affairs of individual countries and the region as a whole; to reinforce the unity and mutual assistance of Arab trade unions in the struggle against imperialist domination; to unite the Arab labor movement on the basis of national unity; to fight for peace, democracy and social progress.

Since the first days of its existence, the CATU has been the target of fierce attacks by imperialist forces and their proteges in the Arab world. Their chief aim has been to weaken the internal unity of the Arab labor movement and to direct the activities of national labor organizations into the channel of social reformism and opportunism. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), taking a position of anticommunism and "class cooperation," served as the instrument of this subversive policy in the late 1950's and early 1960's. For example, at that time the ICFTU actively supported the characteristic claims of the CATU leadership of those years to the "exceptional" and "unique" nature of the Arab world and all signs of regional isolation. As a result of this, CATU contacts and cooperation with the world progressive labor movement and its vanguard, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), were extremely limited.

Nevertheless, the main trend in the confederation's development has always been the tendency toward stronger unity and a stronger class, internationalist approach to events in the region and in the world.

The main areas of the organization's activities today are the following.

One of the main areas of CATU activity is the struggle against imperialism. The confederation has initiated and organized several all-Arab proletarian anti-imperialist demonstrations. In 1956, for example, it called upon Arab labor organizations to render all-round assistance to Egypt, which was being subjected to the tripartite aggression of Great Britain, France and Israel. Although the absence of unity within the CATU at that time precluded the general protest strike scheduled for 16 August (1956), the struggle of Iraqi, Syrian, Kuwaiti, Saudi and Sudanese workers and their strikes, demonstrations and acts of sabotage nevertheless contributed a great deal to the failure of the aggression.

In subsequent years the confederation repeatedly spoke in support of the Algerian revolution and republican Iraq and of the struggle of the people in South Yemen, Lebanon, Syria and other Arab countries against the threat of imperialist intervention. The CATU firmly supported the struggle of Arab

labor when the third (June 1967) and fourth (October 1973) Arab-Israeli wars broke out. It vehemently protested Israel's armed provocations against sovereign Lebanon, which have been going on without interruption since 1975 and which eventually turned into overt intervention as a result of the all-round assistance Israel received from the United States of America. The confederation has invariably supported the peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries with the aim of the comprehensive political settlement of the Mideast crisis. The Soviet proposals on the Middle East, set forth in June 1984, were highly commended by the CATU.

The confederation's position was approved by the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions in Havana from 10 to 15 February 1982.

The problem of the Palestinian Arabs is a matter of great concern to the CATU. Speakers at the sixth (Cairo, 1976) and seventh (Damascus, 1979) congresses of the confederation stressed the urgent need to render all-round assistance, including material, emotional, political and military support, to the PLO and all Palestinians. This strategic aim has always been a cardinal CATU objective. Speaking at the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions, confederation Secretary-General Ahmad Jalloud called upon the progressive trade unions of the world "to give the just Arab cause maximum support, particularly in the Palestinian question; the Palestinian Arabs must return to their homeland and create an independent state under the leadership of their only legitimate representative--the Palestine Liberation Organization."

In recent years one of the most important areas of confederation activity has been the struggle against the anti-Arab and pro-imperialist policy of separate bargains with Israel, the foundations of which were laid by the Sadat regime in Egypt. Since the beginning of the notorious Camp David process, the CATU has been waging a determined and uncompromising struggle against it.

Finally, another important area of confederation activity consists in the defense of democratic freedoms, especially trade-union rights, in the Arab East. In contrast to the socialist-oriented states (PDRY, Algeria and Syria), where the ruling revolutionary democratic parties support and encourage the development of the trade-union movement with the aim of securing broad participation by the laboring public in production management and in government affairs, other Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia and several of the Persian Gulf emirates, have passed laws categorically prohibiting the creation of any kind of social organizations, including trade unions.

The authorities in some Arab countries regularly conduct repressive campaigns against laborers and their trade unions. Sometimes ruling circles interfere in the internal affairs of trade unions by striving to put "reliable people" in their administrative bodies against the wishes of labor.

The development of the trade-union movement is encountering great difficulties in territories occupied by Israel. The movement is one of the main targets of the occupants' sophisticated system of political and socioeconomic discrimination against the native population.

In its struggle for democratic and trade-union freedoms, the CATU has been supported by the progressive international trade-union movement, especially the WFTU. It was no coincidence that the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions, speaking on behalf of 270 million members of trade unions on all continents, resolutely condemned the violation of trade-union freedoms in Palestine, in occupied Arab territories and in Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Bahrain and several other Arab countries.

The reinforcement of the confederation's alliance with the WFTU, the foundations of which were laid back in the 1960's, is especially important today.

The WFTU and CATU have taken important joint action in support of the struggle of Arabs and the people of revolutionary Afghanistan and have consistently upheld the cause of national and social liberation.

The CATU is gaining international prestige. It now has consultative status in the UN Economic and Social Council, the International Labor Organization, the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity. It is maintaining and developing cooperative relations with several regional labor organizations, particularly the Organization of United African Trade Unions.

Speaking on behalf of the confederation at the 10th World Congress of Trade Unions, CATU Secretary-General A. Jalloud called upon laborers throughout the world to give all-round assistance and support to liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Central and South America, especially in El Salvador, Chile, Namibia and South Africa, to condemn the racist aggression committed with U.S. support against the Republic of Angola and to protest the production of neutron and nuclear weapons by the United States and their deployment in Western Europe.

Relations of friendship and cooperation between the CATU and trade unions in the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, became much stronger and deeper in the 1970's and early 1980's. These relations are based on the policy line worked out at the 6th and 7th CATU congresses and aimed at "the consolidation of the strategic alliance with the socialist system and its vanguard, the USSR."

The exchange of trade-union delegations between the CATU and AUCCTU, the central labor organizations of Arab countries and sectorial Soviet trade unions for familiarization with work experience is being expanded constantly.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### ZULU 'INKATHA' BLAMED IN SOUTH AFRICA BLACK ON BLACK VIOLENCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 21-24

[Article by B. Bogdanov: "South Africa. The Wedge That Must Not Be Driven"]

[Excerpt] There were about 10 of them. They broke down the door and rushed into the house. When the noise awoke (Ampi Mayisa) and he jumped out of bed, they were already in the hallway. There was the dim flash of a knife. One of the uninvited guests stepped forward and waved a piece of iron pipe....

The unconscious master of the house was dragged down the street. Two men stayed behind with a can of gasoline, a match was struck, and the walls of the house, doused with gasoline, went up like a torch. Ampi Mayisa did not see his home burning. In an empty lot next door the murderers plunged their knives into the lifeless body and worked it over with clubs and their heels in a frenzy. The gasoline can made another appearance, and the man's remains became a bonfire.

A murder committed with such pathological brutality would probably be regarded as an extraordinary or uncommon incident in any country today. In any country but South Africa. Ampi Mayisa, an inhabitant of Leander, a "black" community near Johannesburg, is only one of many who died under similar circumstances. He was killed because he vigorously opposed racial segregation and was a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the most influential legal antiracist organization. He was not killed by agents of the secret police, by soldiers or by the cutthroats of the ultra-rightwing Weet Commando or Scorpion gangs. The men who tore the African activist to pieces had skin as dark as his. They grew up in the same community, or in a similar community, or in a farmhand's hut on a "white" farm. They were destined, however, to become murderers on the night of 12 January 1986, and he was destined to be their victim.

When the reporters arrived the next morning after the horrible events in Leander, they could not get much out of the shocked son of the victim, Joseph Mayisa. He was able, however, to say one extremely important thing: "I recognized them. They were from 'Inkatha.'"

Again, the name "Inkatha." The name of this organization is frequently mentioned in reports and articles about South Africa. And it is usually mentioned



precisely in connection with events like the tragedy in Leander. Attorney Victoria Msenge, a prominent opponent of apartheid, was riddled with machine gun bullets on a street in Port Elizabeth by four unknown assailants. Steve Tshwete, a member of the UDF National Executive Committee who accompanied her to her final resting place, declared: "We have no doubt that 'Inkatha' was involved in the murder of our sister." The "impi"--this is what the members of the "Inkatha" armed detachments are called--helped the police during the bloody battle in the African community of Langa. They were also responsible for the massacre in the Indian neighborhoods of Inanda, near Durban. Several of their victims were people who attended antiracist rallies or just the funerals of people killed by the police.

Who are the "impi"? By whom and why are they ordered to burn, kill and maim?

"Inkatha" is a group with a strictly tribal foundation. Its members belong to the largest ethnic group in South Africa--the Zulu. This gives some Western authors an excuse to call it an "organization of 6 (or even 7--B. B.) million Zulus." Of course, there is no reason to ascribe "Inkatha" power over all the South Africans speaking the Zulu language. Most of them sincerely despise apartheid and are fighting against it. The "Inkatha" leadership recruits new members primarily from the most backward regions--the rural areas. It also has some influence in the African suburbs of Durban, where most of the "urban" Zulus are concentrated.

The key to understanding the goals and nature of "Inkatha" activities lies in the personality of its leader, who is called Gatasha Mangosutu Buthalezi. Incidentally (and this is important), he is a chief in the literal and not the figurative sense. The 58-year-old leader of "Inkatha" is the scion of the Zulu royal dynasty, which helps him recruit his fellow tribesmen for the "impi" gangs: The Africans' respect for their traditional nobility is well known. Although on ceremonial occasions Buthalezi wears the leopard skin garments befitting his station, he is a completely modern chief--with a university degree in history.

Here is an interesting fact. When he was a student the head of "Inkatha" was a member of the African National Congress (ANC), but he now numbers it, along with the UDF, among his main adversaries. Incidentally, people who "play at revolution" in their youth and later join the reactionary camp can be found in the history of many countries. South Africa is no exception.

Now Gatasha, the chief minister of the Kwazulu bantustan, rides around his territory in an armored limousine with an impressive "impi" escort. President Reagan gave him a warm welcome in Washington in February 1985. Half a year later he was the first of the black politicians in South Africa to accept an invitation to Israel. He was greeted with the honors usually reserved for a head of state. The conservative American AFL-CIO added to his list of titles by naming him the recipient of the George Meany Prize for Human Rights.

Paradoxically, Buthalezi rose to the ranks of the prominent politicians on the crest of the powerful wave of the antiracist movement of recent years. The beginning of the 1980's was the time when the democratic forces of South

Africa became more organized and united. The regime has been unable to extinguish the fire spreading through the country. Many "black" ghettos are essentially outside the government's control. The ANC has more influence now than ever before, the UDF unites around 2 million people, and the government has had to give labor unions serious consideration. Under these conditions, it can no longer rely only on its own military and police network. Pretoria is also seeking supporters among the Africans and is trying to undermine their unity. In the opinion of ruling circles, "Inkatha" could be the "wedge" they need.

Of course, it would be wrong to say that Buthezi and his followers approve of apartheid. They quite sincerely want it to be repealed and do not want to be thought of as "inferiors." But the people in Pretoria are ignoring the "insolence" of the leader of "Inkatha," and the Botha regime has good reason to do this.

Buthezi, who represents the largest ethnic group in the country, does not want South Africa to become, as the ANC is demanding, a single state with the "one man, one vote" principle of government. It is true that he was more far-sighted than the chiefs of Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda and refused to accept fictitious independence for Kwazulu. On the other hand, he proposed the merger of his bantustan with Natal Province in a federation governed by whites and Africans. This plan was vehemently condemned by democratic groups in the country. "Inkatha" extremists are overtly hostile to other ethnic groups--the Pondo, Xhosa and Indians. The bloody inter-ethnic skirmishes provoked by the "impi" have become much more frequent. In short, Buthezi's followers are prey to tribalism--the serious and tenacious African vice that has always been used so skillfully by colonizers and racists to their own advantage.

Pretoria could not be more pleased by the fact that Buthezi is a rabid anti-communist and opposes the fair redistribution of South Africa's tremendous wealth, unable to conceive of South Africa outside the world capitalist system and without close ties to Western monopolies. His idea of a solution to the problem would allow the wealthy Africans to participate with whites in business on an equal basis, even if political power were not transferred to the majority. He supports "reforms" to this end and advocates their acceleration.

In South Africa today, however, socialist ideas are becoming increasingly popular, anti-American feelings are growing stronger, and louder demands for the withdrawal of capital investments from the country of apartheid can be heard in the West. Against this background, the words and actions of the chief from Kwazulu seem particularly appealing to the Botha regime and its patrons. Here are just a few examples. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest association of laborers taking a principled anti-racist position, was founded in November 1985. Buthezi founded the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) less than 2 months later as a counter-balance. It began operating under the unofficial auspices of "Inkatha" on 1 May 1986, but even in March its leaders had already announced their opposition "to the withdrawal of investments, violence, socialism and the use of strikes as a political weapon" and simultaneously favored a "system of free enterprise" and the expansion of the Western presence in the South African economy.

A few words should be said about violence. UWUSA, just as its "spiritual father," completely forgets about its disapproval of violence when it comes to democratic organizations. When the National Miners' Union tried to organize a strike at the Hloban coal mine, cutthroats from UWUSA came after the workers with knives, clubs and rocks. As a result, 10 miners died and 115 were wounded and crippled.

On 12 June a state of emergency was declared throughout South Africa. All political actions by the black population were banned. An exception was made for Buthalezi. He was officially permitted to make a speech--and not just anywhere, but in Soweto, the gigantic "black" ghetto near Johannesburg that has become a symbol of African resistance. The authorities not only allowed the transfer of armed "impi" detachments to Soweto from Kwazulu, but also helped to guarantee the speaker's safety. Their expectations were not deceptive. At the height of an unprecedented campaign of terrorism and persecution of apartheid's opponents, the "Inkatha" leader criticized the advocates of the international isolation of South Africa. It is true that he did not openly applaud the government's "reforms," but he did make positive references to them.

The existence of a phenomenon like "Inkatha" in South African politics is also of great benefit to the Western groups undermining the institution of comprehensive economic sanctions against Pretoria. They portray Buthalezi as the "voice of the black South Africans" in order to justify their own reluctance to give up their South African ties.

A statement in SECHABA, the ANC organ, is irrefutable: "Can the stronger black bourgeoisie remain outside the polarization of forces in South Africa? Experience tells us that it cannot. 'Inkatha' could either be with the people or against them. It chose the second."

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### FRENCH ECONOMIST'S 'RECIPE' FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CRITICIZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 32-35

[Article by M. Volkov, doctor of economic sciences: "Africa. Real Problems and Dubious Solutions"]

[Text] The latest, third Lome Convention between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the 65 affiliated African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries was signed at the talks ending in December 1984. Obviously the sides are not equal. Taking advantage of the fact that the crisis in the world capitalist economy in the early 1980's had inflicted the greatest damage on the developing countries and had lowered the prices of many raw materials, the EEC began dealing from a position of strength, camouflaging this with statements about its desire to "assist" its junior partners more effectively.

The community delegation was headed by prominent French politician Edgar Pisani, who was endowed with special powers by the EEC Council of Ministers--chairman of the European Parliament Commission on Economic and Currency Affairs and, since 1981, European commissioner in charge of development--that is, in charge of EEC economic relations with young states.

In a recently published book, "The Hand and the Tool. The Development of the Third World and Europe,"\* and in recent articles and statements, E. Pisani has tried to formulate the EEC-approved pattern of development for the emerging countries, designed to influence the economic policies of their leaders. His analysis and program of solutions apply mainly to African problems, because "in the eyes of the Community, the Third World is personified mainly by Africa" (p 27). Pisani's theory, which is intended for broad-scale dissemination among the leaders and public of this continent, requires a detailed and discerning examination.

#### How Are the Africans To Be Fed?

The author begins with the food shortage, stating that the number of Africans suffering from hunger or malnutrition has now reached 400 million, in

\* Edgar Pisani, "La main et l'outil. Le developpement du Tiers-Monde et l'Europe," Paris, 1984.

comparison to 200 million 10 years ago, and predicting the further rise of this figure. On our planet as a whole, he correctly points out, there is enough food for everyone, but the situation requires that "each country and each region strive to produce the means of its own existence" and that "each country achieve a substantial degree of self-sufficiency" (pp 76-77).

It would be difficult to argue with this statement about the main types of food. But what are the causes of the problem and how can it be solved? Here E. Pisani's point of view seems, to put it mildly, dubious. He says nothing about the lopsided specialization in export crops imposed on African farmers by colonizers and maintained by neocolonialism, or about the socioeconomic degradation of rural areas, and the few developments he correctly points out are assessed only from the position of the small peasant farm, which he sees--without sufficient grounds--as the only tangible force capable of saving the continent from hunger.

Confusing the cause with the effect, the author regards imported wheat and the widespread consumption of items made of wheat flour as something just short of the main cause of the imbalances in the African diet and the African structure of agricultural production. "When the Third World imports wheat...it acquires eating habits which neither the level of its development nor the climate, soil and state of its agriculture can satisfy with domestic production" (p 79). Foreign food assistance, on the other hand, "provided for free and supplying the market with extremely cheap products, deprives the peasant of all incentive to produce.... Instead of being sent from rural to urban areas, food is sent from the city to the countryside.... The city is becoming the seller of food products instead of the buyer, to the benefit of the urban trade bourgeoisie" (p 81).

To correct the situation, E. Pisani believes, it will be necessary to simultaneously raise agricultural prices and the wages of urban consumers. This will motivate the peasant to expand production and increase his income, which he will use to buy fertilizer, agricultural implements and building materials. He will have a greater need to use transportation services, the trade network and credit sources. Consequently, other sectors will also be stimulated--handicrafts, construction and trade.

In 1982 the EEC chose four African countries--Zambia, Kenya, Mali and Rwanda--for "experiments in cooperation" in agricultural development. Pisani was personally involved in the organization of these experiments. For example, in Zambia, he reports, he participated in the modification of agrarian programs. Earlier plans called for the establishment of 20 large state farms with 30,000 hectares of land each, but now private peasant farms have been assigned the main role.

Pisani is preaching a risky course! After all, the private peasant farm is highly vulnerable to the elements--for example, the droughts with which vast African regions are stricken (these can only be restrained with the aid of sweeping governmental measures, preferably on a regional basis)--and to economic and market factors. Even if these factors of risk were excluded, the evolution of the small farm in the direction of heightened productivity takes

so long that no one knows how long it will be before the population of Africa, which increases by almost 3 percent a year, will see a perceptible increase in its food supply (or even whether it will live long enough to see this).

Pisani's theory leaves no room for progressive agrarian reforms, cooperative production or the fundamental retooling of agriculture. There is the impression that he rejects even hydraulic construction for irrigation and electrical power as a superfluous luxury.

#### Wood or Electricity?

The energy crisis, Pisani asserts, is primarily a Third World problem. Whereas the annual increase in energy consumption in Western Europe and North America has declined sharply over the last 10 years, from 7 percent to 1.8 percent, in the developing countries the figure is 5.4 percent. The population of Africa satisfies 85 percent of its energy needs with firewood and brushwood, and the use of these is distinguished by extremely wasteful practices. Half of the forests have already been destroyed and the deserts are constantly growing. An African woman often has to walk several kilometers a day just to gather enough fuel to cook her meals. Now, the author laments, the wood in the hearth costs more than the contents of the pots hanging over the fire, and 90 percent of the heat is literally gone with the wind. The most primitive rural stove would reduce these losses by two-thirds. He therefore concludes that Africa needs stoves, and not hydroelectric power stations. Each dam is equivalent to around 5 million stoves (in building costs), and these will save ten times as much energy as the GES can produce (p 128).

These calculations seem impressive at first, but they are actually quite meaningless. Even in spite of the huge initial investments, hydraulic power is the cheapest over the long range, and it only gets cheaper as the capacity of the GES increases. Brushwood and firewood will not move vehicles or turn on a machine tool. No matter how many stoves a dam costs, dams are being built and no one regrets the expense. Large dams have become the pillar of the "green revolution" in India. Africa already has some and will build more. For example, the sum of 2 billion dollars has been allocated for two powerful hydraulic units on the Senegal River, which will irrigate 300,000 hectares in Mali and 120,000 hectares in Senegal and will also provide farms in these countries with more electricity.

No one could object to thrift, but it is absurd to solve the energy problem by conserving brushwood (just as absurd as solving the food crisis by intensifying the labor of a peasant with a hoe) in the age of technological revolution, which is engulfing--even if only to varying degrees at this point--all continents, including Africa, and is penetrating agriculture and power engineering. There is no doubt, for example, about the favorable prospects of the use of solar and wind energy in Africa, but only, it goes without saying, on a modern basis.

Yes, the African society's encounters with the technological revolution sometimes give rise to serious contradictions, but it is obviously futile to try

to avoid them by artificially impeding technical progress, especially since it offers the means for the quicker and more effective resolution of these contradictions.

Incidentally, E. Pisani virtually limits the possible uses of scientific and technical achievements in Africa to the communication system: He believes that a satellite in a stationary orbit would be preferable to cable communication networks. In the main sectors of the economy, on the other hand, it would be best not to indulge in innovation.

### "Rural Industrialization"

This "good advice" also applies to industry. E. Pisani explains his negative feelings about industrialization, which has become, in his words, "a myth for the young independent states," by the statement that it creates economic dualism, gives rise to imbalances, leads to excessive urbanization and undermines agriculture. "Since industrialization is being superimposed on a primarily agrarian society, it cannot play its assigned role as the motive force of the economy and social development," he concludes after examining the results of the transfer of labor-intensive production by TNC's to African countries for the more profitable production of manufactured goods here for export (p. 111).

Pisani correctly notes that this kind of "industrialization," based on the unlimited exploitation of laborers, frequently women and children, causes the decomposition of the social structure and makes only a negligible contribution to the national economy. But he is absolutely wrong in his assumption that this is the only type of modern industrial sector in the African countries and in his assertion that Africa's development can be accomplished only through the gradual economic rise of the countryside, and not through industrialization, as if it were automatically connected with the mass exodus of peasants to the cities, where a multitude of what he describes as insoluble problems would arise. The worst possibility is well known--so-called "urbanization without industrialization." This means that industrialization itself is not the root of the evil.

Africa, Pisani nevertheless insists, needs small-scale industry, serving the local market and processing local raw materials--that is, organically linked with agriculture. (Who would argue against this? Of course it is needed--in combination with large-scale industry.) According to his data, 80 percent of all African peasants use only hand tools, while 15 percent also use draft animals. Industry here, however, does not produce these tools or the necessary vehicles. Their production at small enterprises with simple equipment is supposed to be a substitute for industrialization. Pisani is striving to direct EEC cooperation with African countries into the channel of assistance in the cultivation of "rural industry." This development is to be financed by the organization of a network of small credit establishments, "public savings banks" and credit cooperatives in rural areas.

As we can see, the author is consistent: He recommends small-scale private production with the use of the simplest equipment in all sectors of the

economy and the gradual expansion of the local market with the simultaneous support of this process by the national government and international economic assistance. In his opinion, this could put an end to the tragic situation of many people in these countries, who are being tormented by the food, energy and other shortages.

Africa does not have to repeat the journey Europe once took or imitate a modern European society, E. Pisani insists (and there is no question that there is a grain of truth in this denial). But no one could agree with his interpretation of the continent's "uniqueness" as some kind of driving force which will not only satisfy all of the needs of Africans but will also provide a solid foundation for their participation in world cooperation.

#### A Variety of Crops or the Perpetuation of Backwardness?

The "special course" of development proposed for Africa, Pisani asserts, will free it from all types of dependence--technical, economic, financial and cultural--and this, in turn, will serve as the prerequisite for the eradication of all inequality. He associates the existence of the latter with the attempts of African societies to meet Western standards of consumption--attempts which are obviously unsuccessful and can only intensify social inequality in Africa, which is then intermingled with the inequality between the developed and the developing countries. As a result, the author complains, the objectively necessary cooperation between the two groups of states becomes a sphere of conflict and dissatisfaction.

This contradiction, E. Pisani feels, can be surmounted if the "interacting cultures" differ to the maximum (in short, when there are no general standards of comparison, neither side feels wounded). This means that the processes leading to the eradication of differences between cultures and to the establishment of common standards of living throughout the world must be restricted. Among these processes, the author singles out the transfer of technology, which disrupts, in his words, the "internal balance" in the African countries, allows external forces to dominate them and undermines their uniqueness. "Whoever imports technology must adapt to alien standards" (p 179).

This means that national science in Africa should not concern itself with the adaptation of the technology of industrially developed countries to local conditions, but should create its own technologies, with a view to the natural-climatic, historico-cultural and socioeconomic features of specific states or regions. For example, African researchers would do well to consider the possibility of developing animal husbandry by domesticating now wild animals living in certain parts of the continent. In other words, national science is being asked to solve strictly specific and local problems by, so to speak, improvising with the means at hand. This should also be the objective of foreign scientific and technical assistance.

In the same vein, Pisani recommends the "improvement" of school education, which is supposed to secure the development of the human personality and the economic growth of African countries, but has been far from successful,



in E. Pisani's opinion, in performing this dual function: It is separating national culture from the existing conditions in primarily agrarian societies and is providing children and teenagers with knowledge more useful to a clerk than to a rural laborer. "The school system," Pisani writes, "rejects and ignores both the needs and the abilities of the peasant and, besides this, creates an insurmountable cultural gap between the younger and older generations" (p 189).

Just as many of the author's other observations, this statement has some truth in it--as long as it is not absolutized and is not applied to all African countries without exception. But what is his conclusion? It is implied in the context: It is more important and more useful to teach Africans agricultural techniques than literacy in the broad sense of the term. The national character, he goes on to say, should not be sacrificed for the modernization of society. The population of each country has its own view of the world and is guided by its own motives. "We are different, and we will remain different!" (p 203). This slogan is probably the best expression of the gist of E. Pisani's theory and his set of beliefs.

Large segments of the African public are convinced that it would not be worthwhile for African countries to blindly imitate Western models of development. Some states have already acted on this conviction by choosing the non-capitalist road, but E. Pisani's theory is certainly not an appeal for a socialist orientation. This is a variety of "economic romanticism," the futility of which was revealed by V. I. Lenin. Just as Sismondi insisted on the "encouragement of small-scale farming" at the beginning of the last century on the European continent, in the belief that continental agriculture "should move in a direction diametrically opposed to the direction it is taking in England,"\* Pisani is insisting on the encouragement of small-scale farming in Africa and its channeling in a direction different from the one in Europe at the end of this century. In contrast to his predecessor, however, who concentrated on farming, he extends his "economic romanticism for Africa" to all aspects of social life, including science, education and culture.

This theory is flawed because it ignores the objective laws of historical development, particularly the natural evolution of small-scale commodity production into capitalist production (if the process is not interrupted by the society's conscious revolutionary choice of socialism), and it is reactionary because it is aimed against the scientific, technical, economic, social and cultural progress of Africa and is aimed at the perpetuation and intensification of its backwardness.

#### The Dream of "Eurafrica"

It would be absolutely wrong to assume that E. Pisani has made an "honest mistake." His discussion of problems of vital importance to Africa has an ulterior motive. He pretends to recommend the optimal aims of EEC assistance to the countries of this continent and the optimal form of EEC-ACP

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\* V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, pp 233-234.

cooperation in the knowledge that the implementation of his theory will make the economies of the EEC and the associated states more "intersupplementary" or, more precisely, make the latter more dependent on West European sales markets for their goods, on West European suppliers of manufactured goods and on West European financial resources.

Countries cannot develop in isolation from one another. E. Pisani announces this truism and then immediately clarifies and "updates" it: The African states should surmount their economic and political differences and then become part of the "organized space," where the EEC could use its "instruments of cooperation" with maximum efficiency.

What we have here, this time in Pisani's interpretation, is the idea of the economic unification of the EEC and Africa, which was first mentioned three decades ago, during the compilation of the Treaty of Rome, which established the Common Market and contains a special Section IV--"The Inclusion of Overseas Countries and Territories." In those days the word "symbiosis" was popular among the founding fathers of the EEC, and it was subsequently replaced by "partnership" and then by "joint development." Today there is talk about "cooperation within the organized space." The purpose, however, has remained the same: the creation of a single economic complex, in which Western Europe would be represented by scientific and technical potential and capital, and Africa would be represented by natural resources and manpower. This association was previously called "Eurafrica." Today this term is not being used by politicians or theorists. E. Pisani does not use it either. But the dream of "Eurafrica" is tenacious. Its gradual materialization can be traced in the conventions the EEC has signed with developing countries. The parties to the first of these conventions, the Yaounde Convention (1963), were 18 African states, but the third Lome Convention was signed by 65 countries, two-thirds of which were African. E. Pisani describes it as an "exemplary document" and as an "ideal model of cooperation" between developed and developing countries. The latter, it is true, do not share this enthusiasm for some reason....

Preoccupied with the elaboration of a theory of African socioeconomic development that would attach Africa firmly to the EEC, Pisani, both in his writings and in his statements, has stubbornly ignored the major problem--the rapid militarization of the continent and the armed aggression conducted or instigated by the West. Many nations have already become the victims of this aggression. The military factor plays a tremendous role in the existence of "Eurafrica." The selfsame France has troops in a number of its former colonies, and their commission to action is not so uncommon. Between 1980 and 1983 the African countries spent 7.5 billion dollars on weapons, and their main suppliers were members of the EEC, mainly France and Great Britain.\* There is no question that freeing the young states from military expenditures their economies cannot support and from threats of imperialist intervention would soon have a positive effect on the efforts to solve all of the acute problems for which we find only extremely dubious solutions in Pisani's works.

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\* AFRICAN BUSINESS, February 1985, No 78, p 11.

The other side of the gradual EEC-ACP integration is the wider gap in the developing world as a whole due to the more pronounced differences between the status and ambitions of states which have signed or have not signed the Lome Convention. E. Pisani's theory of African development is contrary to the real interests of the Africans and is intended to divert them from the mainstream of the struggle for economic independence and social progress.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### NINTH CONGRESS OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES HELD IN MOSCOW

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) p 50

[Report by special correspondent Igor Nikolayevskiy on comments of delegates to Ninth International Congress on Ethiopian Studies in Moscow]

[Text] The Ninth International Congress on Ethiopian Studies was held in Moscow and was attended by around 200 scholars from Africa, Asia, Europe and the United States. The speeches and reports presented at plenary sessions and in discussion groups provided food for lively and constructive debates, which gave scholars from different schools of Ethiopian studies a better understanding of one another's views and allowed them to determine the topics needed further investigation. The foreign guests had a chance to tour the capital and other cities in the USSR. Our special correspondent, Igor Nikolayevskiy, spoke with some representatives of foreign countries at this forum. Their comments are printed below.

Doctor Legesse Lemma, Deputy Chief of the Ideological Section of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party and Head of the Ethiopian Delegation

We feel that the congress has made a significant contribution to a broader and deeper understanding of the past and present of our country. This will be of indisputable help to us in the construction of a new society.

There were new opportunities for research after the 1974 revolution, especially with regard to the investigation of contemporary issues, which would have been absolutely unthinkable in imperial Ethiopia. Unfortunately, some Western researchers of Ethiopian affairs are trying to take advantage of these opportunities to discredit our revolution and the course of development our people have chosen. This assigns even more importance to the work of our scholars, who are supported and encouraged by the party and state, and to their cooperation with colleagues from the socialist countries.

Ethiopian research papers and ancient manuscripts can be found in many libraries and scientific establishments in the USSR. For decades the historians,

philologists, economists and art historians of your great country have conscientiously and enthusiastically studied Ethiopia's past and present. They took an active part in the organization of the first international congress in 1959 and in subsequent ones. The Ethiopian revolution gave the development of friendly contacts between our countries new momentum, including scientific contacts. For this reason, it is quite understandable that the ninth congress was held in Moscow. I would like to take this opportunity to heartily thank the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the wonderful arrangements it made for the congress.

Our country is preparing for the declaration of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, in which power will belong to the laboring public. In June 1986 the draft constitution of the republic was submitted for nationwide discussion. The document set forth the tasks required to complete the national democratic revolution and begin laying the foundations of socialism. All of the opinions and comments expressed by citizens will be carefully considered when the final draft of the text is drawn up for a referendum.

Ethiopian foreign policy is based on the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders. Guided precisely by this principle, we are negotiating with Somalia with the aim of establishing normal and good relations with our neighbor and eliminating a seat of tension in the region. Ethiopia wholeheartedly supports the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and its great initiatives aimed at a healthier international atmosphere.

Negusse Ayele, Professor at University of Addis Ababa

My colleagues and I responded with great enthusiasm to the decision to hold the congress in Moscow. The Ethiopian delegation here is quite impressive.

An agreement on cooperation between the University of Addis Ababa and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences was concluded in 1979 and has been implemented successfully. Soviet scholars and instructors work in our university, in the capital, and researchers and post-graduate students from Ethiopia have a chance to augment their knowledge in the Soviet Union. We have a new younger generation of Ethiopian scientific workers, many of whom are fluent in Russian. This allows them to study the rich legacy of Russian scholars of Ethiopian affairs in the original and to read the works of Soviet authors. I would like to say that the field of Ethiopian studies in our country has advanced to an absolutely new qualitative level. Whereas these studies were mainly academic before the revolution and were preoccupied with the past, now there is an emphasis on the investigation of contemporary issues and the practical use of research findings.

I would call the ninth congress the highest point of Soviet-Ethiopian scientific cooperation, which, I am certain, will continue to be developed for the good of both countries.

R. Pankhurst, Professor and Member of the Royal Asian Society (Great Britain)

It is interesting that the congress was held in Moscow, a city glorified and beloved by the great Pushkin, whose ancestors were Ethiopian.

This congress, just as previous ones, was unique in some respects because it gave researchers from many countries an opportunity to exchange views on Ethiopian history, linguistics, ethnography, culture and politics. These meetings also contribute to the mutual understanding of people with different political views, mutual understanding in the general sense, and therefore make their humble contribution to the cause of peace. Besides this, young scholars, especially Ethiopians, can meet the most prominent experts on Ethiopia, acquire experience and choose new research topics.

The congress was a definite success.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMY REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) p 62

[Review by A. Belyayev of book "Novyye yavleniya v ekonomike YuAR" [New Developments in the RSA Economy] by Yu. S. Skubko, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva Nauka, 1985, 230 pages: "Apartheid and the Economy"]

[Text] The author of this monograph has been able to develop and use a set of procedures for the study of the factors of scientific and technical progress in their close relationship to changes taking place in the economic structure and in the context of the overall racial and ethnic situation in the Republic of South Africa. With this approach, he was able to analyze the effects of the technological revolution on the South African economy and reveal the organic connection between economic and extra-economic factors of social reproduction. He reveals not only the workings and results of the technological revolution, but also the distinctive features of this phenomenon in the apartheid society. The author does not, however, elevate these features to the status of absolutes. In his study of the internal sources and conditions of South African economic development, Yu. Skubko demonstrates that, despite the peculiarities of the apartheid system, its economic mechanism is not a departure from capitalist production relations, but "represents a specific form of them, meeting the needs of local South African imperialism at this time" (p 17).

The acceleration of South Africa's economic development led, in the author's opinion, to the essential completion of the country's industrialization by the beginning of the 1970's. The extension of intensification to all links and sectors of the economy, however, required the better use of production resources, including the manpower from the oppressed majority. As the author demonstrates, however, bringing the "human factor" in line with the new conditions dictated by the technological revolution was a particularly difficult matter in the obsolete economic system of apartheid, based on the flagrant and extensive exploitation of the African labor force.

The attempts of South African ruling circles to reinforce their social base with the members of the rapidly growing middle urban strata and the African proletariat led to positive advances in education, vocational training and

labor relations (the elimination of the color barrier, union reform, etc.). This policy, described by the author as a special type of neocolonialism, or "neo-apartheid" (p 206), also caused the South African Government to encourage the dependent capitalist development of the bantustans, representing the neocolonial periphery of highly developed "white" South Africa.

Summing up the socioeconomic effects of the technological revolution in South Africa, Yu. Skubko stresses that "the forced departure from orthodox apartheid is shaking the foundations of the racist regime, expanding the objective prerequisites for the democratization of South African society and helping to strengthen political forces working toward this end" (p 210).

Although Yu. Skubko's analysis of developmental tendencies and prospects is successful in general, he did not refrain from "anticipating events" in two main conclusions--regarding the transfer of the economy from extensive to intensive expanded reproduction and regarding the essential completion of the industrial stage in the development of production forces. It must be said that this is not an accomplished fact, but a leading tendency in the transition of the entire system of economic and social relations to a higher level of functioning. The author's statement about the comparatively rapid economic and sociopolitical consolidation of some bantustans and the possibility of their irreversible separation from the rest of South Africa is also debatable.

These shortcomings do not obscure the obvious merits of the book. The research, based on the summarization of many facts and statistics, has been conducted on a high scientific level.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON 'DECLASSIFICATION' DEVELOPMENT IN ASEAN STATES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 21 Oct 86) pp 63-64

[Review by L. Pakhomova, candidate of economic sciences, of book "Deklassirovannyye sloi v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Vostoka" [Declassed Strata in the Developing Eastern Countries] by L. M. Demin, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva Nauka, 1985, 247 pages: "Paupers and the Lumpenproletariat in the Eastern Countries"]

[Text] The processes of declassification during the course of capitalist development in the ASEAN countries and the status of declassified strata are thoroughly analyzed in this book by L. M. Demin. The structure of the work conforms to the author's decision to examine the problems of the lumpenproletariat in connection with employment, rural overpopulation and urbanization--that is, major aspects of social policy.

The author reveals the causes of mass declassification, paying special attention to the large stratum of pauperized peasants, who, along with the pauperized proletariat, craftsmen and the lowest strata of the petty bourgeoisie, now make up the "transitional stratum adjacent to the lumpenproletariat" (p 17). The financial ruin of peasants and small producers in the cities is investigated on different levels of the development of capitalist relations.

The lumpenproletariat is also the result, as the author demonstrates, of political factors. Under the conditions of the characteristic instability of the ASEAN countries, engendered by the frequent change in ruling regimes and the struggle between various class, ethnic and religious groups, repression is common. It leads to many arrests and dismissals from government establishments of people with progressive or merely dissenting views. Eventually, large groups of people have no way of making a living.

The researcher's principal aim was the assessment of the lumpenproletariat as a political force and its influence on other social strata. A discussion of the distinctive features of this group provides a more accurate understanding of the reasons for the popularity of terrorist views in this group and its inclination to support "ultra-revolutionary" slogans or to go to the opposite extreme and support reactionary and conservative movements. As the declassified strata approach the lowest point of declassification, the social bottom, they are increasingly vulnerable to the influence of rightwing reactionary forces or extremists of all types.

The governments of the ASEAN countries are taking some measures to alleviate the problem of the lumpenproletariat and to restrain its rapid growth. But the results of this policy have been quite insignificant, the author stresses, because the solution to the problem is directly connected with the elimination of economic underdevelopment and poverty and with the establishment of the prerequisites for radical socioeconomic reforms.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. MEDIA'S 'NEGATIVE' PRESENTATION OF RUSSIANS

PM081423 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Jan 87 p 3

[Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Belchuk article under the rubric "Attention: Subversion!": "'Poisoners of Wells'"]

[Text] Not long ago when a delegation of Soviet scholars, who had come to Berkeley on the U.S. west coast to take part in a Soviet-U.S. symposium, was returning from the west coast through Washington, we ran across a man at the airport holding a placard saying: "Down with the Russian Dogs!"

The placard was intended for us but it was not at all clear on what specific grounds. I felt slightly ill at ease. How much blind hatred for everything Soviet and Russian need there be in order simply to abuse, in this way, people about whom the man holding the placard cannot have the slightest notion!

Of course, not all Americans think and feel the same as the author of the placard. But, unfortunately, the number of people like him is not all that small. The main reason for this is the single-minded policy of influential forces in the U.S. mass media, and above all, the most important of them--television. These forces are trying in every possible way to create the "image of an enemy" in the eyes of the United States population: a negative attitude to everything connected with the concepts of "Soviet" and "Russian."

During my trips to the United States I always try to watch as many U.S. television broadcasts as possible. I was struck by the fact that the portrayal of the Soviet Union and its policy in recent times has become even more negative than before.

I could not find a single instance when the Soviet Union was portrayed positively, let alone a single instance when the image of a Russian or the very word "Russian" was linked with some positive associations. Morose, uneducated, aggressive types, spies and terrorists presented as my compatriots stared at me from the screen. Possibly this statement sounds too categorical and somewhere sometime something positive has been shown about us, although I have not managed to see it. But if such a thing has occurred, then it was all swamped by the overall mass of dirt being flung intensively at our country and its people. Soviet employees who have been working in the United States for a long time confirm the fairness of these impressions.

What is the reason for the news media's heightened bitterness toward the USSR?

It is not so difficult to find the answer. This in particular is the method of combating the influence of Soviet peace initiatives upon U.S. public opinion. It is calculated to make use of psychological devices for manipulating the masses's consciousness which is characterized by oversimplified stereotypes of thinking, the adherence to a small number of habitual ideas and images, and not so much a rational as an emotional foundation for opinions and notions. This is particularly inherent in a considerable section of the United States population which is not particularly interested in international events.

The degree to which a significant proportion of "ordinary Americans" are ill-informed in these matters can be judged by the regular U.S. public opinion polls conducted by THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper and CBS TV. According to the data from these polls, at the end of last year 25 percent of Americans thought that the United States and the USSR fought against each other in World War II; 86 percent did not know that United States troops took part in the intervention against Soviet Russia in the years of the October Revolution and the Civil War; about four-fifths had never seen a Soviet person. A significant majority of Americans think that they love their children more, are more patriotic than Soviet people and so on--the result of the "Russian" caricature image which has been created.

But these are not the most dangerous false notions about the Soviet people although we often find them simply insulting. Some 69 percent of those questioned think the USSR an "aggressive nation" and for about half the words "Russian" and "USSR" are associated with the concept of "enemy," "unpleasantness," "war" and so forth--such is the result of the activity of the "poisoners of wells" and the spreaders of the myth about the "evil empire."

The calculation is simple. If an entire or almost an entire people is presented in an extremely unattractive light in a mind poisoned with hostility, then that people can be treated with "total license." There is no need to keep to the standards of international law, the main thing is to "heap it on" such people even more. Nor is there the need to examine the essence of the Soviet proposals since what good can come of such people?

When, in discussions with representatives of capitalist countries in which I had a chance to take part on numerous occasions, the question arose of the United States' deliberate creation of an "image of an enemy" in relation to the Soviet people, many Americans were forced to agree with this. But some of them in turn have ask the question: Don't you in the Soviet Union criticize the United States and the Americans?

We do criticize them. And sometimes very sharply. But we criticize the negative aspects of the United States socioeconomic system and the ruling circles' policy which endangers peace. Our criticism has never extended to the U.S. people or their culture, and has never sought to stir up in Soviet people hostile feelings toward the Americans as a nation. In the USSR many books by modern U.S. authors are being published and actively read, dozens of

U.S. plays are staged, modern U.S. music is widely performed and so on. It can be confirmed that the majority of Soviet people are very well disposed to the Americans as a people, which unfortunately can by no means always be said about the attitude in the United States toward our people.

This question is not a problem of "offended national pride." As is known, sow hatred and you will reap a whirlwind. But in this whirlwind everyone will inevitably be consumed. Reason and even the simple feeling of self-preservation testify to the danger and the inadmissibility of kindling mutual distrust and hostility between the U.S. and Soviet peoples.

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CSO: 1807/127

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

COMMENTARY ON 'AMERIKA' TV SERIAL

TV Serial 'Immoral'

LD091032 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow 9 January TASS--PRAVDA comments in an article entitled "Talking About Invaders" today on the film "Amerika" made in the USA. In that film, the Soviet Union occupies the United States under the U.N. flag and it is to be shown on television in February. The newspaper says:

"The cynicism of the authors of hash films like "Amerika," those who order them and those who feed them such ideas by their policy and confrontational statements is truly boundless. Moreover, it is immoral (?even) to make fiction on such themes--there are absolutely no grounds for it."

The newspaper continues: "Soviet soldiers have never invaded the territory of the United States of America. The reverse is true: American troops trampled on our land." PRAVDA cites documents from the time of the U.S. intervention in Soviet Russia in 1918-1920.

"The attempts to present the sending of American troops into Soviet Russia as something totally different from gross intervention in our internal affairs were exposed by General Graves, commander of the American expedition force, himself."

He lamented in his memoirs later on that no justification for such intervention could be found in international law and that it was a striking example of the principle of the U.S. making laws itself to substitute the recognized principles of international law..

"Yes, the American imperialists set out to strangle our revolution in the cradle, to enslave our country, to get their hands on the riches of Siberia and to seize key positions in our economy," the newspaper notes.

"One cannot help seeing that the TV serial Amerika, though fiction, is a deliberate act of psychological warfare intended to scare the Americans and to make them believe that 'the Russians are coming' so as to whip up hatred for the Soviet people and the USSR."

"It is an act of subversion against the growth of mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of our countries. This televised slander only meets the interests of those who are guided by impotent hatred for our country, fear the influence of the Soviet Union's broad peace initiatives on the minds of people and would like to block the truth about the policy of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, wishing to live in peace with the Americans and having no enmity for them. Small wonder that the anti-Soviet serial is being released at a time when the criticism of the foreign policy of the administration keeps growing in the U.S. and when the sentiments in favour of accords with the Soviet Union on the principles of equality and general security are becoming stronger."

"It is to be hoped that the sensible Americans will see through the insidious scheme of those who are sowing enmity and hatred, and pass judgement on this act of provocation in the cold war spirit," the newspaper concludes.

#### 'Cinematic Falsehoods'

LD121816 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Murmansk 12 January TASS--TASS correspondent Vasilii Belousov writes:

A photograph dating from 1918 shows American occupiers in the northern Russian city of Murmansk and the bodies of railway workers they shot for resistance.

This photograph yellowed with time is a real document showing atrocities of Americans in the Kola Peninsula. It is kept by Alexey Kiselyov, professor of the Murmansk pedagogical institute. He gave many years to the study of the history of the area. He collected a wealth of documents: Testimonies of eyewitnesses and photographs about the occupation of Murmansk in the first years of Soviet power.

Another photograph from Professor Kiselyov's archive: A man on deck with his hands tied is facing a firing squad consisting of an American, a British and a French soldier. Those who made the film "Amerika" could have used these photographs had they been aware of the existence of Kiselyov's archive. Making a recourse to a trick typical for American cinema they would have presented soldiers as wearing the Russian uniform while the man about to be executed would be wearing jeans.

By the show of the provocative film "Amerika" the USA is seeking not just to cast aspersion on the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign and domestic policy, Professor Kiselyov holds. It tries to imprint in the minds of 60 million Americans a distorted picture of history. (Professor Kiselyov believes as many people in the USA will see the film). But real truth is not to be concealed by any cinematic falsehoods.

#### U.S. Occupation of Soviet Territory

LD131435 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 13 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow 13 January TASS--TASS analyst Boris Prokhorov writes:

The anti-Soviet film "Amerika" fabricated in the USA, which describes nothing else but a "Soviet occupation" of the USA under the U.N. flag could be

countered with another film and a much more convincing one. It would not be a result of evil and deranged fantasy but a well-documented picture showing the real occupation by the U.S. troops of the young Soviet republic.

Let us imagine what some stills of the film would look like.

Vladivostok, 24 November 1917. Three weeks had not passed since the victory of the 1917 October Revolution and since the decree on peace, the first decree of Soviet power, was adopted, as the U.S. cruiser Brooklyn moored in the Vladivostok roadstead. It was the first foreign warship in Vladivostok after the victory of the October Revolution. The Japanese and Britishers came later.

Summer of 1918. On 6 July the U.S. Government takes an official decision on the participation of U.S. troops in the military occupation of the Soviet Far East. On 16 August the U.S. expeditionary Corps landed on the Soviet shore. It was headed by U.S. General of the Army Graves. The U.S. Infantry Brigade stationed in Khabarovsk was led by Col Moor, and Col Morrow commanded the American detachment in the Transbaykal area. The U.S. Naval force under the flag of Admiral Knight blocked the coast together with Japanese warships. Terror against local population and pillage of a foreign country started.

Historians estimated that the occupiers destroyed 80,000 people in the Soviet Far East, apart from those killed in action against the invaders. As for the material damage, the USA set up a special commission for the exploitation (to put it mildly) of Far Eastern natural resources. Here is a small extract from the commission's "service record:" The occupiers shipped millions of valuable fur skins, much timber and fish. The USA snatched a nice chunk from the gold reserves of Soviet Russian which temporarily got into the hands of Kolchak, a leader of Russian counter-revolution. Some 36 tonnes of gold were dispatched to the USA from the Soviet gold reserves.

A documentary on the U.S. occupation of the Soviet territory would include not only stills shot in the Far East. The U.S. soldiery also "visited" the Soviet north.

Murmansk, May 1918. True, Americans were not the first here. When the U.S. cruiser Olympia came to that port with a detachment of marines, British and French warships with landing parties were already there. But the USA was the senior partner even there: The operations in the north were guided by the western diplomatic corps led by U.S. Ambassador Francis. The strength of U.S. occupation troops (5,000) was second only to Britain. The picture there was the same: Terror and pillage.

However, the voice "Hands off Soviet Russia" was sounding stronger in the USA. Ambassador Francis informed his government of discontent among soldiers. Unrest in the 339 U.S. Regiment stationed in Murmansk was so serious that the American Government was forced to declare the withdrawal of its troops from the Soviet territory.



This is history. The U.S. attempts to interfere in Soviet affairs by the use of armed force failed ignominiously. Small doubt that the attempt to smear the Soviet Union in the slanderous TV serialization "Amerika" (this stench of a propaganda canard) will fail too.

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CSO: 1807/128

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PROFILES OF CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST

PM151527 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 87 First Edition p 3

[Ya Borovoy article: "An Extreme Among Ultrarightists. Rungs in the Career of New U.S. Chief Justice William Rehnquist"]

[Text] During its more than 200-year history the United States has had 30 presidents..... and just 15 chief justices. William Hubbs Rehnquist was recently appointed the 16th.

Probably never before has the debate over the candidate for this high post (Supreme Court justices are appointed for life by the country's president "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate") been so tempestuous. The figure of Rehnquist appears really odious even on the far from liberal horizon of modern America. An out-and-out racist has been foisted on the Americans as head of the U.S. judicial machine.

William Rehnquist is 61. He was born and grew up in a newspaper seller's family in a suburb of Milwaukee. He spent three years in the ranks of the U.S. Air Force. Then he studied at Stanford Law College. After graduating from that privileged educational institution, he worked as a clerk in the office of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson.

What advice did the young jurist give the venerable Justice Jackson? To oppose, for example, the abolition of racial segregation in schools. A memorandum to Jackson pointed out with crude straightforwardness: "Racial segregation in schools is totally justified from the viewpoint of the law and must continue."

Rehnquist's endeavors in the field of obscurantism did not go unnoticed by American ultras. Their protege rapidly made his career and money. In the early sixties Rehnquist had already become the owner of a private legal practice in Phoenix (Arizona). There he was called none other than "Barry Goldwater's man"--Goldwater was the leader of American reactionaries at that time. Then, too, Rehnquist drew close to the "John Birch Society"--an association of militant anticommunists. And there were rumors that he had even become a member of that overtly fascist organization.

The "lawman" did not just proclaim his pogrom views but also made efforts to prohibit black Americans and Latin Americans from living in districts with a white population, as well as to disfranchise them.

And once again Rehnquist's "services" did not go unnoticed. At the end of the sixties he was transferred to Washington, where he held the highly paid post of a Justice Department staffer.

Let us give Rehnquist's consistency in his attitude to "second-class Americans" its due. This was also manifested in the "lawman's" strictly personal affairs. When Rehnquist was selling his house in Phoenix, he attached to the title deed a footnote according to which a person "of Caucasian extraction" could not become its owner [as published]. And the official document for the sale of a country plot at Greensboro (Vermont) retained another proviso by Rehnquist: "The house cannot be sold to a representative of the Jewish faith."

Rehnquist's influential friends helped the southern jurist to become a U.S. Supreme Court justice in 1971. And what happened? Perhaps Rehnquist's stance became just an iota more balanced, shall we say? Nothing like! The American weekly TIME published a chart of the way U.S. Supreme Court justices--the "magnificent nine"--vote on the most urgent problems. Rehnquist occupies the place on the extreme right...

A Supreme Court justice holds his post for life. That is why William Rehnquist devotes great attention to keeping in good physical shape: He regularly goes to the swimming pool, plays croquet... He also has a hobby--stamp collecting. Malicious tongues claim that he has even written a work of fiction which so far (up to his appointment to the high post of head of America's judicial mechanism) not a single publishing house has agreed to print. It may now be assumed that such a publishing house will be found...

William Rehnquist has become U.S. chief justice despite protests from many public figures, politicians, and representatives of antiwar, labor union, women's, and youth organizations. Speaking against Rehnquist's appointment to the post of U.S. chief justice, Senator Alan Cranston declared: "I do not believe that someone with such a commitment to ultraright views will be able to direct the Supreme Court on the basis of justice and regard for different opinions." Julius Chambers, one of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, put it still more decisively. In his opinion, Rehnquist's appointment is "one more example of President Reagan's continuing attempts to impose his ultrareactionary ideological principles on the country."

The right-wing forces that have captured the commanding heights in Washington are placing people to their liking in key posts in the country, depriving Americans of the last vestiges of democratic freedoms. And meanwhile the Supreme Court, which is meant to defend their rights, is itself being turned into a bulwark of reaction.

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## WESTERN EUROPE

### AUSTRIAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN, CP ROLE ASSESSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by N. Bovikov: "Letter from Vienna: Elections At Hand"]

[Text] Early October marked the start of the election campaign in Austria, although it was gathering pace back in mid-September. On 14 September, F. Vranitsky, a leader of the Austrian Socialist Party (ASP), announced on radio the break-up of the coalition accord between the two parties comprising the government, the SPA and the Austrian Freedom Party (AFP). He then immediately proposed early elections to the National Council (the lower chamber of parliament) for 23 November of this year. The elections were to have been held next April.

What prompted this decision by the ruling Socialist Party? The fact is, the regular congress of the Austrian Freedom Party ended on 14 September with the election of a new leadership. Whereas the APS was previously headed by representatives of a more or less moderate wing led by Vice Chancellor N. Steger, the congress gave key Freedom Party posts to those on the far right, led by Jorg Haider, a 36-year old multi-millionaire from Carpathia, creating a situation in which the leadership of the Socialist Party thought preserving the government coalition might compromise the party if it began cooperating with openly right-wing political forces in the country. This circumstance roused the Socialist Party presidium to make the decision to break up the coalition agreement and hold early elections.

The Socialist Party has held its first pre-election meeting, in the industrial city of Stockerau (near Vienna), at which a speech was given by Federal Chancellor F. Vranitsky. A few days later, a pre-election program was submitted by the opposition party, the Austrian People's Party (APP). A. Mock was declared the leader of the APP at a meeting in the capital, at Palais Belvedere. The Freedom Party has not held a pre-election meeting yet, if one disregards its last congress. The "Greens," headed by F. Meissner-Blau, one of the candidates in the republic's presidential elections, also claim deputy mandates.

The ruling Austrian Socialist Party invariably stresses that it has led the country adequately for 60 years, achieving definite successes in domestic and foreign policy. Economic growth has been steady, even though the Austrian press constantly points out that prices have been rising year by year and

unemployment has been increasing, especially among young people. The largest nationalized enterprise, Voest-Alpine and a number of other companies have experienced financial spasms.

Austria's foreign policy is determined, its leaders declare, is determined by its status of consistent neutrality and by the State Agreement on Restoring An Independent and Democratic Austria. Good neighborliness and dialog are the basis of the alpine republic's foreign policy. As a small country in the center of Europe, it participates actively in international affairs, helping to further develop the Europe-wide Helsinki process. It was for good reason that Vienna was chosen as the site of the third meeting of representatives of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which begins on 4 November.

The opposition Austrian People's Party has begun an extensive pre-election campaign.

The APP is attempting to prove that the ruling Socialist Party is harming the country's economy by supporting the state sector in industry. It cites as an example the financial difficulties currently being experienced by Voest-Alpine, a state concern. The APP hammers away at the point that nationalized enterprises need to be shifted to control by private capital. We must not fail to note that these insistent demands have moved several officials. The PRESS of Vienna reported a specific APP proposal to put six large companies, with a total capitalization of 10 billion schillings, into private hands. It is anticipated that if the APP wins the elections, this process will become widespread.

The forthcoming tax assessment reform has become an important social problem which the political parties are trying to use in the pre-election struggle. The Socialist Party has put forward a proportional tax assessment bill proposing that those with the largest incomes contribute most to the treasury. People's Party representatives think this approach will slow the country's economic development and that entrepreneurs will lose interest in continuing to develop production. In their opinion, not only should those with greater profits not be assessed higher taxes, they should not pay much more than an ordinary worker. Sensing the constricting nature of their stand on this question however, the APP is trying to move adoption of the new tax assessment law forward until after the parliamentary elections.

The possibility of a "grand coalition" following the elections looms large in the pre-election campaign. The reference is to a ruling coalition, that is, a government consisting of the two largest Austrian parties, the Socialist and People's parties. Judging by the articles in the Austrian press and the declarations by the politicians, the possibility of such a "grand coalition" is highly problematical and probably will be decided by the election results.

The Austrian Communist Party (ACP) had decided to put forward its own candidates in all the electoral districts. Speaking at the ACP Central Committee Plenum, Party Chairman F. Muhri stressed that Austrian communists intend to unite the forces of the left in the course of the pre-election struggle, strengthening their political positions. The Communist Party is advancing

an alternative program whose primary components are fighting for the vital interests of the workers, active opposition to the so-called "social partnership" theory, which is to the advantage only of large-scale capital, and defending nationalized industry.

The ACP pre-election program favors ensuring that the masses have the rights of peace, labor and social justice; it favors cutting the military budget and rejecting any attempts to equip the Austrian Army with missiles in contravention of the State Agreement. The communist Party declares its support for Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at ensuring a strong peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The pre-election struggle in Austria is picking up pace.

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CSO: 1807/66

## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### VIETNAMESE CP CONGRESS HAILS CEMA COOPERATION

OW240059 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Grammatchikov Commentary]

[Text] Dear Listeners: The documents of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] show an important large-scale renovation program aimed at overcoming various difficulties in Vietnam's social life. This will create conditions for the next 5-Year Plan in promoting public welfare. The Vietnamese communists, in cooperation with other fraternal socialist countries, hold an important position in this plan.

May we recall that the recent working session in Moscow of leaders of fraternal parties of CEMA-member countries, including Vietnam, marked a new step along the path of developing and intensifying cooperation among these countries in all spheres, especially the economic sphere, to accelerate our two countries' progress. As stressed in the CPV Central Committee political report, the Vietnamese communists rejoice at the fact that leaders of fraternal parties were unanimous on the need to set forth a program to heighten the effectiveness of CEMA cooperation with an assistance for Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia, in conformity with each country's characteristics.

At the congress forum, Comrade Ligachev, head of the CPSU delegation, said: As for the Soviet Union and the CPSU, we will do everything in our party to actively implement this program. Representatives of other fraternal parties also expressed this spirit in their speeches.

The congress documents stress the great significance of Vietnam's participation in CEMA operations. It will allow Vietnam to acquire advanced technology, build socialist material and technical bases, and satisfy the people's imperative needs.

Along with Vietnam, other CEMA-member countries consider it their common duty to strive to promptly put into operation every national economic project built in Vietnam with their aid in order to contribute much more quickly to solving the problems now facing Vietnam.

Delegates to the congress stressed that an important trend of cooperation within the framework of CEMA is the training of technical cadres for Vietnam. Thousands of Vietnamese experts who have graduated from the universities in

the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the GDR are currently working at various construction sites and enterprises in Vietnam; in the public health and educational spheres; and in the scientific and cultural sectors.

As we already know, the training of technical workers for Vietnam has been recently expanded in factories and enterprises of socialist countries. The contingent of young technicians of Vietnam's working class can master and perfect techniques while gaining the advanced experiences of their friends. They will build a future for Vietnam and, together with the entire people, will strive to make their fatherland prosperous in its advance along the socialist road.

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CSO: 1807/132



MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

'IRANGATE' SEEN AS CONTINUING U.S. POLICIES IN IRAN, MIDEAST

PM291633 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch under the rubric "Behind the Scenes of Events": "'Irangate': If You Delve Deeper"]

[Text] The time has come to make a diagnosis. "Irangate" has turned into a protracted ailment for the Reagan administration. Observers agree that it has inflicted the most serious political and moral damage during this administration's entire existence. The authority of the top echelons of power has been undermined.

However, the administration is resisting. It is fighting the disease and trying to avert an epidemic of exposures. To escape from public opinion, the White House has gone into "quarantine." It has thrown two political corpses -- Colonel North and Vice Admiral Poindexter -- outside the stockade in the hope that these measured sacrifices -- as the journalists described them -- will be sufficient.

There are various scenarios for saving the administration. Among the authors of one of them are the "brain trusts" of the conservative forces who, as the facts indicate, were not bypassed by the millions made on the arms sales. The money went not only to the "Contras," it also flowed into the election funds of Congressional candidates. It is they who have fiercely defended the "Star Wars" program, the concept of a strong America, and the plans for curbing social programs.

According to the scenario drafted by the "brain trusts," the "Iran operation" must be presented as an action carried out "in the national interests" of the United States and aimed at strengthening U.S. positions in "spheres of vital interests" against "Communist infiltration," and for the sake of the triumph of the ideas of a strong America.

This is the lifeline that has been thrown to Reagan, and some notes of this theme have already reappeared in his statements and State Secretary Shultz' speech during the Congressional hearings.

The admission that the White House regards secret operations as part and parcel of the U.S. foreign policy course is worthy of note. However, the

calculation behind this action is based on nationalist rather than national considerations. The administration and its patrons have again resorted to an old propaganda technique of influencing public opinion. They are again trying to manipulate the public with the help of chauvinist ideas and the nationalist slogan "America First!" This has paid off more than once, during the capture of Grenada, for instance, or during the adventures in the Near East. The White House is hoping that the opium of chauvinism will now again dull the Americans' senses.

However, analyzing "Irangate" with a sober head, it is impossible not to see that a military-strategic action was taken which pursued far-reaching geopolitical aims.

Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty never tired of emphasizing Iran's colossal importance for Britain's imperial interests, since Iran, a major source of petroleum, is located near a vitally important "sea-lane" -- the route to the Indian Ocean. And here is a statement by President Reagan: "Iran occupies one of the most important geographical positions in the world. It is located between the Soviet Union and the Indian Ocean area."

"The vitally important sea-lane...", "the sphere of vital interests" -- all this comes from the one lexicon of the people who sought and are seeking today to establish supremacy over foreign territories which happen to be of strategic significance.

The Soviet Union was mentioned by the President deliberately. Now that the administration is entangled in a political scandal, it is actively resorting to anti-Sovietism. It would like to use the fictitious Soviet threat in order to justify -- in American eyes -- its adventure involving the arms deliveries to Iran and the funding of the "Contras" and its policy of a permanent military presence in areas located thousands of kilometers from U.S. shores. (Another use for anti-Sovietism has also been found: Referring to intelligence sources, THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported that the United States supplied Iran with deliberately false information distorting the true position of the Soviet Union and intimidating the Iranian leadership with the Soviet threat." By kindling anti-Sovietism, Washington tried to masquerade as a "friend" of the Iranian people and under this cover to secure a foothold in Iran, including a military foothold.)

Washington is yearning for the times when Iran was its overseas "oil state," when Americans in the guise of advisers were omnipresent in its political and economic structure, when 500 branches of U.S. companies were operating on Iranian territory -- including Standard Oil of New Jersey, Anaconda, and others -- for the time when, as THE WASHINGTON POST put it, "our interests in Iran ran into billions of dollars..." And, of course, there was the agreement on arms deliveries to the shah to the value of 13 billion (!) dollars. The Iranian revolution put an end to this business but not to the U.S. plans, which still consist of throwing an American lasso around the Near East and the Persian Gulf area.

The CIA is now trying in every way to dissociate itself from the raging scandal. However, the intelligence agency has always kept Iran in its field of vision. Back in 1953 the then director of the CIA, Allen Dulles, secretly met Princess Ashraf, the shah's sister, in Sweden. Shortly afterward U.S. General Schwarzkopf, who inspired the overthrow of Mosaddeq, arrived in Tehran.

It is no secret that it was the CIA which put the last shahanshah, Reza Pahlavi, on the throne, nor that to the very end the CIA did everything it could to save the shah's regime. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the author of the notorious "arc of instability," the concept to justify U.S. military presence in "spheres of vital interests," displayed special zeal in defending the shah. Scott Armstrong in a series of articles published in THE WASHINGTON POST under the title "The Fall of the Shah" cited details of a now decoded secret telephone conversation between Brzezinski, who was then President Carter's national security adviser, and Reza Pahlavi. It consisted of instructions "to use force," it was a call for bloodshed in Iran for the sake of saving U.S. interests: "...Your Highness will have to resort to force. Human rights considerations are no longer that important." So there you have it... The scope of the "human rights" concepts held by Brzezinski and other U.S. politicians is very broad. When U.S. interests are at issue mass repressions, executions, and torture are discounted.

And another point. It has emerged that the United States availed itself of Israel's assistance in the latest arms deliveries to Iran. However, the Washington-Tel-Aviv-Tehran axis was not formed today. In their efforts to transform Iran into a U.S. military bridgehead in the Near and Middle East on Israeli lines, Zionist circles in the United States played a particularly active role in this. A secret memo to the shah from Hoveyda, Iran's premier at the time, informing him that the wife of Jacob Javits, then Senator for New York State and an active supporter of Israel, would be acting as Iran's lobbyist in Washington is interesting in this respect. Madam Javits was officially registered as a publicity consultant for Iran Air, but her functions were much wider. Another secret document reveals that Mrs. Javits was asked to establish contacts with congressmen, leaders of political parties, governors, and representatives of leading news media and to obtain "unofficial access" to them. The aim of gaining "unofficial access" was that of easing the passage through the legislative bodies of a deal for the delivery of modern arms to Iran. Naturally, the axis did not revolve around the Javits clan alone; impressive forces were at work which strove to bring Israel and Iran into an alliance with the United States for the purpose of combating the liberation process in the Near and the Middle East.

All this is history now. But it is very instructive. An analysis of current events, a comparison of the facts, a careful consideration of the same aspects of the history of this issue enable observers to draw a number of specific conclusions. Above all -- the "Iran operation" is not an isolated action, it is a manifestation of the present administration's general course. It is

the concept of neoglobalism in action, a concept whose essence as applied to Iran evidently consisted of establishing behind-the-scenes contacts with so-called "Iranian moderate elements" in an effort to regain former military and political positions in that country.

In other words the arms deal was a thoroughly conceived strategic operation pursuing, in particular, direct interference in the Muslim world, but aimed also at the Near East, Central America, and Africa -- at all the regions through which the wave of the independence struggle has psased.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DEPUTY PREMIER VIEWS ECONOMIC TIES WITH INDIA

PM181845 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 51, 26 Dec 86 pp 3-4

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Kamentsev by A. Usvatov: "Economic Cooperation: Its Scale, Its Record, Its Future"]

[Text] [Usvatov] The Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi highly assessed the dynamic development of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between our two countries. Could you briefly review the record of this cooperation for our readers!

[Kamentsev] I think two figures are indicative. More than 60 industrial and other installations built with Soviet cooperation have appeared on the economic map of India. They form the backbone of its public sector. About 40 projects are on the drawing board or under construction.

For over three decades our economic and technical cooperation has been geared to helping India build up its economic map of India. They form the backbone of its public sector. About 40 projects are on the drawing board or under construction.

For over three decades our economic and technical cooperation has been geared to helping India build up its economic potential, notably heavy industry. The Bhilai steel plant was the pioneering project.

Ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, heavy engineering, prospecting for oil and gas, oil refining, coal and power generation are the main areas of Soviet assistance, the efforts of our design offices and production plants and specialists at various levels in the industrial development of India.

[Usvatov] Greeting Mikhail Gorbachev in parliament, the Indian Vice President, Mr Venkataraman, described Soviet-Indian economic cooperation as a unique sage worthy of imitation.

[Kamentsev] It is unique and worth imitating in the sense that it may provide a model for mutually beneficial and equal business cooperation between states with different social systems. It is an example of the peaceful coexistence of such states, of relations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and the consideration of mutual interests, strict observance of

sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's affairs. The scale of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation and its concrete results are impressive.

But equally important, I think, is the atmosphere--at once businesslike and friendly--that characterizes cooperation between Soviet and Indian organizations, and Soviet and Indian experts. They work very closely together in tackling the engineering and technological problems that arise.

I for one have never heard of any conflicts between them, for all that hundreds, thousands of Soviet citizens worked and are working at joint construction projects in India. Among them are engineers, technicians and skilled workers.

I think it was this friendly atmosphere that the Indian Vice President also had in mind when he described our economic cooperation as a saga.

[Usvatov] Has the range of priorities in the joint construction of project changed with time!

[Kamentsev] In the 1980s India is giving priority to its fuel and energy potential. That is why the power, coal and oil industries, along with metallurgy, are now the main areas of our cooperation.

[Usvatov] What is the role of enterprises built with Soviet assistance in India's economic development!

[Kamentsev] They help India to achieve self-sufficiency in a number of areas. I can cite the following data. The enterprises built with Soviet cooperation now account for 36 percent of the country's output of steel, 32 percent of that of aluminum, 23 percent of that of crude oil and 47 percent of refined oil, 77 percent of metallurgical, 47 percent of power, 43 percent of mining equipment, and 9 percent of electric energy.

The engineering plants built with Soviet assistance in Ranchi, Hardwar and Durgapur account for a large share of the sophisticated equipment for new steel plants, power stations, and coal mines, thus removing or drastically reducing the need to import such equipment from abroad. Moreover, these plants manufacture various units and equipment with the use of Soviet components for export to the Soviet Union and to third countries.

[Usvatov] Could you name some of the projects nearing completion? When will they be put into operation?

[Kamentsev] Of the major ones let me name two. The thermal power station at Vindhyachal in the state of Madhya Pradesh will be launched next summer, when the first of its six 210,000 kilowatt generators becomes operational. construction work has entered the final phase on the steel complex in Visakhapatnam on the east coast. The first section is to be completed in 1988. The third enterprise of its kind after Bhilai and Bokaro, it is one of the most up-to-date in terms of equipment and technology. It will use only converters for making steel.

[Usvatov] During Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to Delhi, you and India's Minister of External Affairs Tiwari signed a new agreement on economic and technical cooperation. What is the substance of the agreement?

[Kamentsev] Under the agreement, the Soviet Union will help India carry out a whole range of projects. Among them is the construction of a large hydropower complex in Teri in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It will comprise three hydropower stations with a total capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts. Another major project is the reconstruction of the converter shops and modernization of the "2,000" hot steel rolling mill at the Bokaro plant. The expansion of its capacity to 4 million tons a year has practically been completed. We shall help build four mines at Jharia in the state of Bihar, which will produce 8 million tons of coking coal a year. Finally, we shall prospect for oil and gas in West Bengal.

[Usvatov] Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi described this agreement as the biggest in the history of economic relations between our countries. What does that mean?

[Kamentsev] The agreed projects are very big in terms of capacity and require more capital investment. For this purpose the Soviet Union has granted the largest soft-term credit in the history of its economic ties with India.

[Usvatov] While on the subject of credits, I would like to put the question our readers ask in their letters. How does India repay Soviet credits granted for the construction of projects?

[Kamentsev] India regularly and timely repays all Soviet credits in rupees with which the Soviet Union buys goods necessary to its economy. These include consumer goods and foodstuffs such as knitwear, clothing, tea, coffee and spices.

[Usvatov] Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi spoke about new forms and methods of economic exchange. What did they have in mind? What forms and methods are being planned or introduced to tap the potential for mutually beneficial cooperation?

[Kamentsev] Our country has embarked on a drastic restructuring of its economic mechanism along with modernization and retooling on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements. India is also committed to accelerating its social and economic development in order to enter the 21st century as a powerful modern state with a highly developed economy.

These major challenges in domestic development require new modes of cooperation. The search for such new approaches was reflected in the agreement on basic directions of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000 signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in Moscow in May 1985. The agreement lay emphasis on the development and introduction of new types of equipment and modern technologies, modernization and retooling of enterprises, raising labour productivity, and on new projects, especially in the fuel and energy field.

Negotiations along these lines were successfully continued during Gorbachev's visit to Delhi in November. Experts in the two countries are working out concrete measures to implement the agreement.

They are discussing, among other things, ways of developing and intensifying production cooperation between Soviet organizations and various Indian companies both state owned and private. Also planned is the joint production of goods for India and the Soviet Union and for export to third countries.

[Usvatov] Soviet-Indian trade is growing dynamically. Last year it topped the three billion ruble mark. But the drop in world oil prices (we export oil to India) has brought a certain imbalance to our trade. What is being done to balance exports and imports in the near future?

[Kamentsev] Under the trade protocol for 1987 signed in November, India will buy a range of Soviet goods it did not previously import. They include coking coal and various chemicals. Soviet supplies of machines and equipment and some other goods will increase.

An important new element is the growing involvement of private Indian firms. The India-USSR Chamber of Commerce and industry set up last year includes many Indian businessmen who want to sell their goods to the USSR and buy Soviet goods, particularly equipment.

[Usvatov] What effect are the current changes in Soviet foreign trade and foreign economic activity likely to have on Soviet-Indian economic relations?

Shall we see joint Soviet-Indian enterprises? If so, in what branches?

[Kamentsev] Yes, this is a possibility. I believe they will be primarily industrial enterprises based on up-to-date technology.

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### BRIEFS

COMMUNICATIONS EXCHANGE WITH ZANZIBAR--A protocol on cooperation for a two year period was signed in Zanzibar between the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Sports of the island division of the United Republic of Tanzania and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The document envisages an expansion in the exchange of television and radio programs between the USSR and Zanzibar. Zanzibar viewers and listeners will be able to become acquainted with Soviet films, and scientific, musical, and sports broadcasts on a regular basis. In accordance with the protocol, Zanzibar television and radio specialists will be sent to the Soviet Union for training courses for producers and editors. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Jan 87 LD] /12913

DJIBOUTI NEWS SERVICE ACCORD--Djibouti 12 January TASS--TASS correspondent Gennadiy Gabrielyan reports: The news agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) and the national news agency of the Republic of Djibouti (ADJI) have signed an agreement on cooperation here. TASS news service will be transmitted to the East-African country in the Arab and French languages. Ismail Husayn Tani, general secretary on the issues of information at the republic's presidential office, who signed the agreement from Djibouti's side, said that large western news agencies, which monopolized the spread of information, force on African and other developing countries ideological and economic stereotypes alien to them. They inculcate in them an erroneous notion of the surrounding world. We will counter Western agencies' dangerous monopoly with information from such a country as the USSR. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 12 Jan 87 LD] /12913

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